Phonological and morphological variation in the speech of Fallahis in Karak (Jordan)

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PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE SPEECH OF FALLAHIS IN KARAK (JORDAN)

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To my beloved father Ahmad

To my beloved mother Amenah

To my beloved wife Nadirah

To my children Saja, Anas, Dana and their nice uncle Hussein

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PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

CONSONANTS

b	voiced bilabial stop
t	non-emphatic voiceless dental (or denti-alveolar) stop
T	emphatic voiceless alveolar (or denti-alveolar) stop
d	non-emphatic voiced dental (or denti-alveolar) stop
Đ	emphatic voiced alveolar (or denti-alveolar) stop
k	voiceless velar stop
g	voiced velar stop
q	voiceless uvular stop
C	alveo palatal affricative
?	glottal stop
m	voiced bilabial nasal
n	voiced alveolar nasal
l	voiced dental lateral
r	voiced alveolar rolled
f	voiceless-dental fricative
θ	voiceless interdental fricative
ð	voiced interdental fricative
D	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
s	non-emphatic voiceless dental fricative
S	emphatic voiceless alveolar fricative
Š	voiced alveolar (or palato- alveolar) fricative
ʤ	voiced alveolar (or palato alveolar) affricate

y	voiced palatal glide
w	voiced bilabial glide
x	voiceless velar fricative
ġ	voiced velar fricative
H	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
9	voiced pharyngeal fricative
h	voiceless glottal fricative

Vowels

i	unrounded high front short
ii	unrounded, high, front, long
e	unrounded, mid, short
ee	unrounded, mid, long
a	unrounded, low, short
aa	unrounded, low, long
o	rounded, mid back(half close)
oo	rounded, mid, back, long
u	rounded, high, back, short
uu	rounded, high, back, long

ABSTRACT

PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL VARIATION IN THE SPEECH OF FALLAHIS IN KARAK (JORDAN)

MAHMOUD AHMAD MOH'D SAID EL SALMAN

This study is conducted in the Karak area (Jordan) to investigate linguistic variation in the speech of the Fallahis who migrated to the area in 1948. Three variables are considered to investigate this variation. These are the (Q), (Vki) and (K). The study shows that young Fallahis have abandoned the variants of their native dialect in favour of the local variants, or sometimes the urban variant . Young Fallahis have abandoned the [k] variant of the variable (Q) in favour of the local variant [g] or [?] and the [ik] variant of the variable (Vki) in favour of the local variant [ki]. They also appear to have abandoned the variant [C] of the variable (K) in favour of the [k] variant.

The study also shows that while none of the young males abandon the non-local variant [k] in favour of the urban variant [?], a considerable proportion (50%) of young females appear to have abandoned the non-local [k] variant in favour of the urban variant [?]. The young, thus, appear to prefer the local variants of the investigated variables whether this variable is stereotype like (Q) or a marker like (Vki).

A considerable proportion of the middle age–group also show a tendency to accommodate to the local variant [g] as well as the local variant [ki]. The old appear

to preserve the variant [k] and the variant [ik] of their native dialect. The variant [C] of the variable (K) is categorically abandoned by the young and used in a very low ratio by the middle-age group (6%), but rather more frequently by the old age group (43%). In this regard, we can report a sound change which is near completion in the Karak area in the speech of the Fallahis.

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Chapter One

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we provide the background to this sociolinguistic study. The facets of culture involved here are the politics, history, and social customs of Jordan in general and the Karak district, in particular. Our aim is to characterize a location and its people so as to develop a context for the linguistic study. Blom and Gumperz state that "mere naturalistic observation of speech behavior is not enough. In order to interpret what he hears, the investigator must have some background knowledge of the local culture and of the processes which generate social meaning. Without this it is impossible to make generalizations about the social implications" (Blom and Gumperz, 1972: 434). Furthermore, Labov states that "one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs" (Labov, 1972b: 3) and in another context he reports that sociolinguistic studies "also require a detailed characterization of [the] social and ethnic composition . . . geographic features . . . population, and culture of the city" (Labov, 2001: 41). Hudson (1996) adds that skill in speaking depends on a variety of factors including knowledge of the relevant social rules governing speech. He calls such rules NORMS because they define normal behaviour for the society concerned, without specific penalties against those who do not follow them. Thus, Hudson believes that "de Saussure was wrong in seeing speech as the product of an individual's will, unconstrained by the society" (Hudson, 1996: 119).

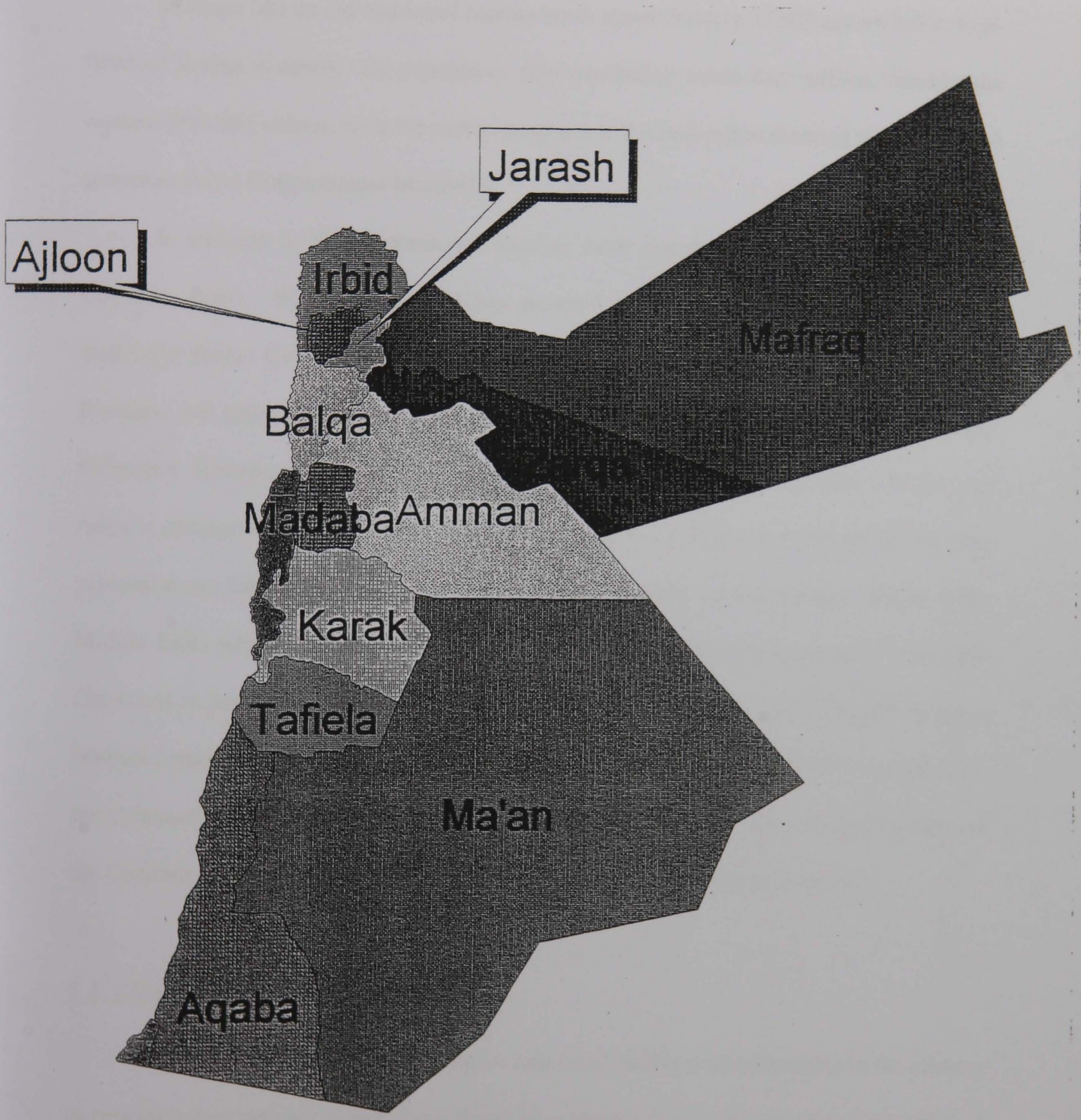
1.1 The society under study

This section includes 5 subsections. In subsection 1.1.1, we discuss the society and its environment. In subsection 1.1.2, we discuss the socio-political development. 1.1.3 is about the city of Karak. 1.1.4 is about the tribe, and 1.1.5 deals with the group under study.

1.1.1 The society and its environment

"The Kingdom of Jordan is a fascinating collection of opposites. Politically it is very new yet very old; its land comprises mountains and great canyons; its climate ranges from the arid desert to the humid lushness of the Jordan valley" (Copeland, 1965: 9).

Map 1: The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.



In shape like an old-fashioned hatchet head, approximately 37,500 square miles. four-fifths of Jordan is desert. Its population, now numbering nearly four million, inhabits the western hills and valleys, with the exception of a few Bedouin tribes roaming the desert. The government is a Constitutional Monarchy.

In addition to the preponderant Muslim Arab population there are about 180,000 Christian Arabs. But a land so old has attracted a number of other peoples with their distinctive faiths: Circassians, Armenians, Turkmen, Kurds, Persian Bahais, Syriacs, White Russians, and many others in smaller numbers. According to Nyrop (1980), the fundamental difference between Jordanians and Palestinians aside, differences of ethnic origin and religion distinguish several other groups on the East Bank. Roughly 8 percent of the total population are Christians. Of these, most are Arabs including a small number, unique in the Middle East, who are or recently were pastoral nomads. The largest group of non-Arab Christians is Armenians, perhaps 1 per cent of the population. The Circassians are a Sunni Muslim community of approximately 15,000 to 20,000 descendants of families brought from the Caucasus in Ottoman times. Another much smaller group originating in the Caucasus are the Chechens whose roughly 1,000 members are Shia Muslims (Nyrop, 1980: 61).

1.1.2 Socio-political development

We will briefly discuss Jordan and recent socio-political developments in the country in general before we start to talk about Karak in particular. This is because the socio-political developments which have taken place in Jordan have played a major role in drawing up the linguistic picture of Jordan in general and that of Karak in particular.

According to Meillet, "We must determine which social structure corresponds to a given linguistic structure, and how in general changes in social structure are translated into changes in linguistic structure" (Meillet, 1926 cited and translated by Labov, 2001: 23).

The socio-political developments which have taken place in Jordan can be divided into three phases, each of which has contributed in different ways towards drawing the linguistic portrait in the country.

As a result of the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 a million Palestinians were forced to leave their country and settle in Jordan. Most of those people came from big cities in Palestine (to which much prestige was attached) such as Haifa, Yafa, and Akka (Acre). Financially and commercially speaking, these cities, especially Haifa, were big centres in the area. Haifa, for example, was one of the main seaports and the only seaport to Jordan before the development of Aqaba. According to Kanovsky, "Aqaba, the only port in the Kingdom, was undeveloped. Imports had come in before 1948 through Haifa" (Kanovsky, 1976: 4). In addition, there was a big refinery in Haifa. These two factors, the port and the refinery, made Haifa a commercially prosperous area and a suitable place for those who sought job opportunities, especially for neighboring regions among which is Jordan. Thus before 1948, many Jordanians used to go to this city seeking work. At that period, there was no urban centre in the East Bank (Jordan) (Al-Wer, 1999). As a result, for the people of Jordan, Haifa was symbol of urbanization, openness, and a place of work.

Given this, when the people of these cities left their native country and came to live in Jordan, this was the picture in the mind of both groups and the ground on which the two groups started dealing with each other. These newcomers from the three cities were perceived by the people of the East Bank as highly cultured people who belonged to big commercial

urban centres. Kanovsky states that "At that time the Palestinians were more advanced . . . and more urbanized" (Kanovsky, 1976: 3)

Three factors played a major role in reinforcing this feeling and violating the norm that "Immigrants . . . around the world frequently give up their language after a generation if social conditions are favorable to language shift" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 417). These three factors are:

1- From the very beginning these people were treated very positively by the native population (the people of the East Bank) as well as the government of Jordan in that they were given full citizenship immediately. They were also allowed to occupy any possible position socially and politically in the country. "Unlike the other Arab states", Kanovsky reports, "Jordan granted Jordanian citizenship, en bloc, to all the refugees in its territory, and made efforts towards their integration and absorption in the Kingdom" (Kanovsky, 1976: 4).

2- The indigenous population was extremely generous and kind toward these people. Indeed, they received them in their houses and even let the newcomers share their food. The two groups, according to many people both indigenous population and the immigrants, were like the *Muhaajiruun and Ansaa*. The Muhaajiriin were the Meccan followers of the Prophet Mohammad who emigrated to Medina, while the Ansaar were the Medinan group who received the Prophet Mohammed in an ideal way. This behaviour became a traditional model in Arabic culture of the way one should treat newcomers.

3- Most of these people at the beginning regarded this immigration as a temporary situation. Accordingly, they believed that it was just a matter of time before their problems would be settled and they would go home again. This protected them from the feeling that they were immigrants. According to Qasim and Khaleel (1996), most of the Palestinians immigrated to the area which was closest to their own native town or village in Jordan, believing they would possibly go back to their Palestinian homeland soon (Qassim and Khaleel, 1996: 17).

What also reinforces these three factors is the fact that the newcomers (the Palestinians) played a major role in developing the economy of Jordan as they were well trained financially and professionally. According to Kanovsky, "Throughout the period 1948-66 . . . the Palestinians were far more advanced in terms of education and skills, and were more urbanized in contrast with the largely illiterate Bedouin and primitive farmers in Transjordan" (Kanovsky, 1976: 3). Salibi (1993) adds that they were one of the main financial resources of Jordan as "Substantial remittances from the many Jordanians working in the Gulf countries, most of them Palestinians, were helping to develop the national economy" (Salibi, 1993: 205). According to Salibi, "in Amman and Jerusalem and their suburbs, a boom in the construction industry provided opportunities for employment and work for skilled and unskilled laborers, again mostly Palestinians, many of them from refugee camps" (Salibi, 1993: 205).

Given this, and on the basis that "the social value associated to certain groups in society will be attached to the linguistic forms used by the members of these groups" (Wolfram, 1997: 120), and "the fact that values attached to language usage vary with social

background" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 421), the urban dialect of these major cities, namely Haifa, Akka, Yafa and Jerusalem was positively perceived by the East Jordanians. Accordingly, the dialect of these newcomers was perceived as the prestige dialect symbolizing urbanization and softness (i.e. ease of living; the kind of lifestyle which is enjoyed by those who have wealth and prestige). Thus, the variety of those "immigrants . . . comes to stand for much more than geographic origin alone in the mind of the inhabitants" (Fishman, 1972: 16). It comes to stand for higher social status (the dialect of prestige).

The Second Arab-Israeli war in 1967 forced many other Palestinians to leave their country and settle in Jordan. As a result, the number of Palestinians in Jordan increased. These people came from the West Bank. The West Bank was part of the Kingdom of Jordan before the war but "as a result of the war of June 1967 it [the West Bank] was severed from the Kingdom of Jordan" (Kanovsky,1976:12). Accordingly, these newcomers did not feel that they were immigrants and they were treated as Jordanians in all aspects of life. Many of those people also came from urban centres, in particular Jerusalem (as the eastern part of the city was occupied by Israel in 1967), in addition to other cities such as Nablus and Hebron (Al Khaliil). This reinforced the process of attaching the positive social connotations to the urban dialect and its position in Jordan.

In 1970, things started taking another direction in Jordan as a result of political developments in the country (for more details, see Salibi, 1993; Kanovsky, 1976; Al-Wer, 1999). These developments led to certain linguistic features which had previously been perceived as rural linguistic features to be perceived as linguistic features of power. For example, the variant [g] which was once considered the variant used by Bedouin and rural people, has become the variant which reflects power and locality. And as the varieties'

"virtues are in the eyes (or ears) of their beholders . . . [and] their functions depend on the norms of the speech communities that employ them . . . [and] these norms, in turn, change as speech communities change in self- concept" (Fishman, 1972: 18), the indigenous population accordingly started perceiving themselves as the people who represent power.

These events divided the supposedly single group into two: Jordanians as opposed to Palestinians. Subsequently, we can talk about two identities and not one: Jordanian identity as opposed to Palestinian identity. It was this awareness of identity that led some variables to be "referentially equivalent but pragmatically differentiated" (Sidnell, 1999: 377). And as Labov argues it is not uncommon to find phonetic differences becoming stronger and stronger as the group fights to maintain its identity (Labov, 1972a: 29). The key feature of Jordanian Arabic (henceforth JA), namely the [g] variant of the (Q) variable, which had previously been specifically avoided because of its negative social connotations as a feature of rural speech, subsequently became the key feature that people deliberately attempted to display in their speech (Al Wer, 1991). This was because of the newly established social connotation attached to it and the awareness of its local significance as the feature which was used by the people who represented power. That awareness was necessary, as "in order for a variant to have distinct and analyzable indexical meanings (indicating class membership ,region of origin, etc.), users must be aware to some degree of the potential for variation within a particular category" (Sidnell, 1999: 377).

Two other factors are relevant to the newly established conditions on the ground and are known to correlate with the new linguistic picture in Jordan:

1- Women were not affected linguistically by the political changes for two reasons:

(a) They were not actively involved in political life in Jordan. For example, in the last decade only one woman has succeeded in being elected to parliament.

(b) Women in general in the Arab world are influenced by features representing softness and modernization (see Abdal-Jawad, 1981; Al Khatib, 1988; Al-Wer, 1991, 1999, 2000; Walters, 1991; Daher, 1998). Thus, the features of the urban dialect remain favoured by women. The features of the newly perceived code of power, by contrast, remain unfavorable as these features also convey a sense of toughness since they are mainly associated with rurality and Bedouin life.

2- In as much as someone is implicated in the 'costs and rewards' (Myers-Scotton, 1993) that he may gain in inter-group communication, the variant used becomes important. The Palestinians and indigenous Jordanians began to use certain linguistic features much more than they had done before, each aiming to achieve something. "It is not uncommon to speak of linguistic changes as the result of speakers' desires to assume a certain social identity" (Labov, 2001: xv). For anyone wishing to identify himself with the code of power some local features are likely to appear in his speech as "this power takes very local forms" (Sidnell, 1999: 394). Some local features started increasingly being used by the indigenous population as a symbol of local identity, for example, the [g] variant of the (Q) variable. According to Myers-Scotton, "A major motivation for variety in linguistic choices in a given community is the possibility of social-identity negotiations" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 111). The [g] began to be used increasingly by Palestinian Jordanians. Their intentions were: 1- to assert their native status, the chief obstacle to this being the resistance to full recognition from 'those who claimed an indigenous Jordanian origin; 2- to avoid it being claimed that

they had a double loyalty (both Palestinian and Jordanian), as might occur if they used non-local features. According to Myers-Scotton, "A major motivation for using one variety rather than another as a medium of an interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 100). Thus, some non-local linguistic features became stigmatized and, accordingly decreasingly used, while the local dialect became, like its users, dominant. It is not uncommon that "Dominant languages and dialects spread widely and lead to the gradual extinction of other tongues" (Darwin, 1861, cited in Labov, 2001: 8). Labov (2001) also notes the influence of some dialects of dominant cultural centres in America. This "can be seen for many phonological features as a large circular region surrounding Boston, Philadelphia, . . . and many rural American dialects . . . are in danger of disappearing . . ." (Labov, 2001: 8). Though *dominance* in the Jordanian case is seen in terms of political or economic power and not cultural power as in the case mentioned by Labov, the result is the same (the use of at least some features of some dialects is steadily increasing and the use of other features is steadily decreasing). Eckert argues that it is power which motivates the use or non-use of some linguistic forms (Eckert, 1989).

However, the situation started taking another turn from the beginning of the 1980s. Palestinians again became important players in the political life of Jordan. Four factors played a role in the emergence of this phase:

1- The stable political situation in Jordan after the difficult political period in the 1970s gave rise to the necessity to reevaluate the situation as a whole by the government. In fact, the Palestinian people had nothing to do with the confrontation between fedayeen (commandos) and the regime. According to Salibi, "The conflict was not between

Palestinians and Jordanians but rather it was a conflict between the Jordanian regime and fedayeen (commandos) as an armed movement . . . from the official view, the fedayeen in Jordan had tried to take over the country and failed. Those fedayeen left the country and thus the conflict was over. With the Palestinians of Jordan, it was a different matter. They were Jordanian citizens entitled to the enjoyment of their full rights (Salibi, 1993: 246-247).

2- Democracy was given the chance to reappear in Jordan from the beginning of 1989. The first major step taken to reinforce this process was the allowing of general parliamentary elections in the country. This required that all Jordanians should participate in these elections regardless of their origins - something that entailed that all Jordanians should be treated equally.

3- The peace process emerged in the region at the beginning of 1991. In 1994, Jordan signed a peace treaty with Israel. Accordingly, Jordanian priorities changed. Improving the economic situation of the country became the first priority.

4 – Inter-marriage between Palestinians and Jordanians in the last two decades has made it difficult to talk about two distinct groups. After a long period of living together, it has become unacceptable even to ask about the origin of a Jordanian citizen.

To underline the non-differentiation between holders of Jordanian citizenship regardless of origin on visits to tribal and clan leaders in May 1979, King Hussein "and his

aides stressed the need for solidarity and cooperation and for giving an equal opportunity to all Jordanians to shoulder the burden of citizenship and responsibility" (Nyrop, 1980: 64).

Jordan is now living under such circumstances. Fallahi dialect as spoken by the fallahis living now in Karak will be investigated to understand the linguistic variation resulting from the events the two groups in the area have passed through. Labov states that the "linguistic situation is bound to be affected by changes in job opportunities and residential patterns" (Labov, 1979: 17). We also believe that the linguistic situation in Karak is bound to be affected by changes in job opportunities and residential patterns that affect Palestinian-Jordanian relations. After 50 years of living together and dialect contact, it makes sense to talk about Karak as a single speech community, as a group of speakers who both live together and who might borrow from each others' dialects.

1.1.3 The city of Karak

In Biblical time, Karak was called Kir of Moab and it was a bone of contention between warring peoples during the two millennia before Christ (Copeland, 1965: 57). The area exhibited the symbiosis between the nomad of the desert and the sedentary agriculturist that was traditional throughout most of the Middle East (Nyrop, 1980: 63).

The town of Karak is situated on top of a small mountain in the centre of the district of that name in southern Jordan (Gubser, 1973: 1). The governorate of Karak, of which the district forms a part, lies east of the southern half of the Dead Sea in the East Bank of the Kingdom of Jordan.

The Balqa, which includes the town of Madaba, borders it on the north; and to the south lie the district of Tafila and the governorate of Ma'an. The Dead Sea lies to the west

and the Syrian (or North Arabian) Desert to the east (Gubser, 1973: 8). Each of these borders forms a formidable, but not impassable, barrier. The Wadi Al-Mujib and Wadi Al-Hasa, both dropping from heights of 900 m to well below sea level, are the northern and southern boundaries. The excessively saline water of the Dead Sea cuts off the west, and the east fades into a virtually rainless desert (Gubser, 1973: 8).

The district of Karak covers approximately 2,850 square km, with an average elevation of about 770m. From the east the Syrian Desert rises to form a high limestone plateaux, with an average elevation of 1,100m, and hills which reach 1,300m, forming the backbone of the area. Then the terrain drops precipitously to the Dead Sea, 395m below sea-level.

After the First World War, Karak was involved in a quick succession of governments: Faysal's Syria, the Arab Government of Moab, and Amir Abdullah's Transjordan.

During the time of the Amirate, Karak was on the periphery of Transjordan and only marginally involved in the concerns of the states. The political elite entered into varying relationships with Amir Abdullah and the central government, depending mostly on local political concerns and conflicts (Gubser, 1973: 22).

Locally, politics remain little changed from the Ottoman period. Although security continued to be a distinct problem until the Second World War, conflicts were not allowed to reach the level of 1921-1922. Local tribes still vied for power in the time-honoured manner. The chief regional conflicts (other than cases of personal injury, death, and honour and shame) arose over land, because the interwar period saw the sedentarization of most of the tribes and a great increase in land values (Gubser, 1973: 23).

As with all of the states involved in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the conflict had important internal results for Jordan, adding the West Bank to its territory along with it indigenous and refugee Palestinians who were more advanced than the Transjordanians in education and modernity (Gubser, 1973: 23).

The years 1948-1950 are a turning-point in the history of Jordan. Many trends were coming to an end. Between the wars, Transjordan had been pacified and consolidated. At last one regime had ruled uninterruptedly for a number of years, and the people were beginning to accept it as their government. Land was registered, values increased, and agriculture began to take on much more importance. But the paternal, almost shaykh-like, rule of Amir Abdullah had come to an end. For example, the old and young shaykhs of the Amirate used to sit around his diwan (big house), kiss his hand, and cultivate a certain amount of respect for and rapport with him, but this type of relationship did not exist, and probably could not have existed, between the shaykhs and the young King Hussein (Gubser, 1973: 23).

After 1950 many new basic services were introduced. A communications network of hard-surfaced roads and telephones was completed. The administration was expanded and became much more efficient. Whereas most governmental departments hardly functioned at all before 1950, today they have branch offices in all sections of the country. Early attempts at education bore fruit; administrative positions were finally being filled by Transjordanians in significant numbers. The various districts could at last feel that they were a part of the country (Gubser, 1973: 23-24).

In the 1950 and 1960 a new political balance emerged within the kingdom. Ultimate power was still based on the army, but within the context of a majority of Palestinians rather than Transjordanians (Gubser, 1973: 24).

Political events in the Middle East and after 1948 buffeted Jordan continuously. After the assassination of King Abdullah (Amir Abdullah at the time of the Amirate) and the addition of the West Bank to the country, Jordan faced many difficulties. During this period, the Karakis were among the King Abdullah's staunchest supporters. People from this area held many of the most important positions in the country (Gubser, 1973: 24).

Political developments in Jordan and the Middle East from 1948 onwards profoundly influenced Karak. The central government penetrated many aspects of local life and usurped some local political functions. Schools were now open to a high percentage of young people. Communications were available and used. All these elements contributed to the changes which Karak's political system experienced (Gubser, 1973: 25).

Agriculture has always been is the economic base and principal economic activity in Karak. In the contemporary period, however, other forms of economic occupation have increased, especially in the town. Besides the demographic data, the major patterns noted in this section are: (1) the broad ownership of land; (2) the improving economic position of the peasant and his escape from usurers; (3) the foreign control of the *suq (bazaar)* and manufacturing, and the predominance of one-family shops; (4) the changing nature of commercial transactions and marketing; and (5) the importance of the central government in employment and development (Gubser, 1973: 25).

1.1.4 The tribe

As Gubser states, the tribe is the single most important political group in Karak district. Structurally, it may be described as a corporate territorial group with pyramidal and

segmentary qualities. The tribes of the area, however, differ considerably in relative size, geographical location, mode of livelihood, and degree of political power.

An understanding of kinship and marriage patterns is necessary for any explanation of tribal organization as well as being valuable in itself, for the larger kin groups also have political functions. Although the tribe is definitely not a kin group but a territorial one, kin groups are basic parts of it, blending into its structure in such a way that it is difficult to distinguish where the kin group ends and the tribal structure begins. Moreover, the local tradition of each tribe often holds that all its members, or all the members of one section, are descended from one man. Many admit that this is not always true, but the myth is kept up. Actually, the sub-lineage or, at times, the lineage of four or five generations is the only true, coherent kin group. The Karakis, like most Arabs, reckon kinship through the male line. Politically this patrilineal pattern is significant, for it tends to create neat segregated units and subunits within the tribe. A man's identity is more strongly attached to this group than to any other; for the behaviour of an individual is considered to be an extension of that of his kin, and, conversely, the actions of a man's blood relatives heavily reflect upon him. The kin unit is further reinforced by the marriage preference for one's parallel cousin (father's brother's daughter). In traditional law, even, an unmarried man has the legal right to marry his closest parallel (paternal) cousin; and not until he has given his permission may she marry another. If no first cousin on the paternal side is available, then two other preferences become operative. Paternal cousins of a lesser degree are frequently chosen, and a cross-cousin (mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter) is also sought. Quite often, because of the general marriage pattern, a cross-cousin is a paternal cousin as well, only of a more distant relationship. This marriage pattern, then, creates a web of both kin and conjugal ties within a

relatively small unit, binding its members together. Thus all the children in the male line of a man who lived four or five generations ago may be considered as a corporate group with a common identity and some political functions (Gubser, 1973:42).

1.1.5 The group under study

The people of Karak who fall within the scope of this study are those Jordanians who are originally Palestinians (henceforth the Fallahis) and who came to the area in huge numbers as a result of the Arab-Israeli wars in 1948 and 1967. This immigration has noticeably affected Karak society not only demographically but also linguistically. As varieties "change over time" and "varieties are also changed" as Fishman puts it (Fishman, 1972:18), we hypothesis that the dialect of the Fallahis is expected to change due to its contact with another dominant local dialect, namely, the dialect of the local people (henceforth the Karakis).

The answer to the question "why it is that certain features are ahead of others in the course of language change" as Al-Wer puts it, is "based on an interplay between social factors and linguistic factors" (Al-Wer, 1999; 24). Furthermore, the chief aim of this work is to investigate the co-variation of phonological/morphological and sociological variables. It, therefore, becomes important to shed light on some aspects of social life of Karak before we go on to describe the linguistic picture there. Furthermore, it is also equally important to ascertain in much more detail "if social factors are in fact connected with the onset and continuation of this process [linguistic variation] . . . something about the social class, sex, ethnicity, or occupation of the [possible] innovators" (Labov, 2001: 29). Trudgill notes that "It may not be immediately obvious that dialects are just as intimately linked to cultures as

are languages. ... [thus] there are local cultures, and dialects symbolize these local cultures, and help to maintain and defend them" (Trudgill, 2002: 29).

Most of the Fallahis chose to live in Karak City or in smaller towns such as Al Manchiah, Almazar, Al Qasir and Mutah. But now, due to the fact that Karak has witnessed a very rapid growth in the last decades, it is difficult to say that any of the areas of Karak district is exclusively inhabited by one group rather than another. Neither group lives in isolation from the other. In no way can the members of these groups avoid interacting with each other. Consequently, contact between their dialects is inevitable. This contact is expected to involve some linguistic variation resulting from the fact that new social connotations are expected to be attached to the different features used in both dialects. To a great extent, this is determined by the way the new-comers are perceived socially by the indigenous population and the way the indigenous population is seen in the eyes of the newcomers. According to Wolfram, it is not surprising that the social value associated with certain groups in society will be attached to the linguistic forms used by the members of these groups (Wolfram, 1997: 120). Thus, investigating linguistic variation and linguistic accommodation in Karak can "provide a particularly clear avenue of approach to understand the relationship between social processes and linguistic forms" (Heller, 1988:1).

The hypothesis that we wish to test is that the group which possesses social power (which in the case of Karak is determined to a great extent by the clan to which one belongs) will use the perceived prestigious form – i.e- the form viewed by non-members as having prestige - even if a second group found in the same area has the economic power. Actually, this is the picture found in Karak. One of these groups (the Fallahis) is looked at as the group which dominates Karak financially, while the other (the Karakis) is looked at as the group

which dominates Karak socially in the sense that it is the group whose members belong to the local *hamula*s. Nyrop (1980: 68) defines *hamula* as "the descendents of a common, relatively distant ancestor [...], translated by some authors as Clan". The *hamula* ordinarily has a corporate identity; it may maintain a guesthouse, its members usually reside in a distinguishable quarter or neighborhood, and it acts in concert in village political affairs (Nyrop, 1980: 68). A thorough understanding of the concept of Clan as the basic element in the social structure of Karak society, is important, as it is also the basic determinant of what is accepted or rejected. For example, according to Gubser (1973) "throughout history and today the *suq* [market] has been almost entirely in the hands of non-Karakis. This is because "the Karakis had and still have attitudes which somewhat preclude them from entering into commerce" (Gubser, 1973: 37). Gubser adds "if a particular individual does not feel this, social pressure keeps him from entering commerce, for he would be shamed and disgraced" (Gubser, 1973: 37). That this does not come about as a result of individual desire but rather of social pressure is shown by the fact that "The Karakis do admit today that the Ghazawis [Palestinians from the Gaza area] are smart and efficient traders, not invariably dishonest, and more industrious than local people" (Gubser, 1973: 37).

The use of a particular linguistic feature may be evaluated as socially prestigious or socially stigmatized (Wolfram,1997: 122) depending on the group to which this feature or that belongs.

It seems that in Karak the financial position of those who use FAD (Fallahi Arabic Dialect) gives them economic power while the social position (their dominating the city in numbers and belonging to organized clans) gives those who use KAD (Karaki Arabic Dialect) social (non-material) power. The existence of UAD (Urban Arabic Dialect) side by

side with the dialects of the Karakis and the Fallahis, leads to the question: how will "variants compete for dominance in the community repertoire" taking into consideration that "variants compete for dominance in the community repertoire as the pressures of natural selection acting upon the human bearers of variants tend to remove some variants from the repertoire while allowing others to continue the struggle for survival and dominance" (Sapir, 1921, cited in Romaine, 1982: 18).

1.2 The Linguistic Repertoire

This section includes four subsections. In the first we discuss the linguistic repertoire of the Karak society in general. In 1.2.2 we discuss KAD (Karaki Arabic Dialect), in 1.2.3 we discuss FAD (Fallahi Arabic Dialect) and in 1.2.4 we discuss UAD (Urban Arabic Dialect).

1.2.1 Introduction

Throughout the Arab world, the Arabic language exists in three forms: the Classical Arabic of the Quran; the literary language developed from the classical and known as Modern Standard Arabic, which has virtually the same syntactic structure wherever used, although its pronunciation and lexicon may vary locally; and the local form of the spoken language (Nyrop, 1980:62).

In this society three local forms of the colloquial language are clearly used. These are KAD (Karaki Arabic Dialect), FAD (Fallahi Arabic Dialect), and UAD (urban Arabic Dialect). These three varieties "form part of what we may call the community linguistic repertoire" (Gumperz, 1964), which can be defined as "the totality of linguistic resources which speakers may employ in significant social interaction" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 411).

According to Fishman, "speech communities and their varieties are not only interrelated systems; they are completely interdependent systems as well" (Fishman, 1972: 18). Following Fishman (1972) a useful distinction can be sometimes be made between dialects and varieties. Acoording to Fishman:

> The term variety is frequently utilized in the sociology of language as a nonjudgmental designation. The very fact that an objective, unemotional, technical term is *needed* in order to refer to a kind of language" is in itself an indication that the expression "a language" is often a judgmental one, a term that is *indicative* of emotion and opinion, as well as a term that *elicits* emotion and opinion. ... . As a result, we will use the term "variety" in order not to become trapped in the very phenomena that we seek to investigate, namely, when and by whom is a certain variety considered to be a language and when and by whom is it considered something else. Those varieties that initially and basically represent divergent geographic origins are known as dialects ... . (Fishman, 1972: 15-16).

That these three dialects are mutually affected by each other is clearly seen in the absence of some features of these dialects or the increasingly frequent use of others today in Karak. It seems that the dialect used in Karak today is or is about to be "the result of regional koine formation from many intersecting [Arabic] dialects" (Labov, 2001: 8), the role of each component being determined to a great extent by the new role given to its holders as a result of socio-political developments occurring in the area.

In Karak, we can see how some political developments that on the surface appear to have nothing to do with language do in fact change language. In themselves the political events in the area have nothing directly to do with language. They have rather to do with the socio-economic status of the individual. They make the rich poor and the poor rich. They

make those who were described in the near past as rural today's rulers. These political developments in the area can augment or diminish the individual's ability to obtain education, or advance in his or her position, and can also turn the urban inhabitant into an immigrant. Thus, the variety which was seen as the variety of rural people becomes the variety of the potential elite and local identity. The variety which was associated with urban people becomes the variety of immigrants. In light of all of these developments FAD as spoken by the Fallahis now living in Karak will be investigated in order to reach an understanding of linguistic variations resulting from the events which have been experienced by the two groups in the area.

Our study will proceed in the light of all of these developments. All of the above mentioned developments are expected to push toward change. According to Meillet, "from the fact that language is a social institution, it follows that linguistics is a social science, and the only variable element that we can resort to in accounting for linguistic change is social change, of which linguistic variations are only consequences, sometimes immediate and direct, more often mediated and indirect ..." (Meillet 1926, cited and translated by Labov, 2001: 22-23).

1.2.2 Karaki Arabic Dialect

This is the original dialect in the area since it is the dialect used by speakers who originally belong to the area. One of the most salient features of this dialect is the use of the phoneme /g/, the reflex of SA /q/. Second, some instances of the CA phoneme /k/ are reflected as /C/ in this dialect.

1.2.3 Fallahi Arabic Dialect

FAD is the original dialect of the rural immigrants who came to the area as a result of the Arab-Israel war in 1948. The most salient feature of this dialect is the use of the variant [k] of the variable (Q).

1.2.4 Urban Arabic Dialect

This is the dialect said to have spread to the area from the three main Arab cities, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo (Ibrahim, 1986). As this dialect spread from urban areas and particularly from capital cities in the area, it began to be seen as the prestige dialect in Karak and in other places of the Arab world. Women began to use this dialect because of the social connotation attached to it and even prefer it to SA dialect. The adoptation of women to the urban dialect in the Arab world instead of SA led many sociolinguists in the West to misinterpret the behaviour of women in the Arab region. Some of these sociolinguists claim that women in the Arab world go against the norm since, unlike women in other parts of the world and in particular in the West, they are not conservative in their speech in that they are not "closer to the norms of the standard language in their use of certain linguistic variables (as defined in terms of relative deviation on a continuum from an ideal prestige standard vernacular)" (Romaine, 1982: 2). This analysis results from the fact that these sociolinguists do not differentiate between diglossic and non-diglossic societies. In diglossic societies, like those of the Arab world, "the comparisons should be based not on the standard High variety, but on the modern urban forms of Arabic which are termed supra-dialectal low (henceforth SDL) and are used in urban centres such as Damascus, Cairo or Jerusalem. (Ibrahim, 1986). When women use SDL (Supra Dialectal Low), that is roughly equivalent to the standard

variety in the Western societies, they do not go against the norm but rather they use this variety as a "response to social change and modernization" (Walters, 1991: 202), and their language reflects, like that of other women in the world " prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivenes, connectedness, and sensitivity to others" (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992, cited in Wodak & Benke, 1997: 127). According to Chambers, "The diglossic situation entails that literary Arabic be a superimposed variety. It is not a mother tongue . . . As a result, it cannot fill the role of the standard variety in social stratification" (Chambers, 1995: 142). Thelander (1979) similarly believes "that one must acknowledge the existence of an intermediate variety, i.e. regional standard" (Thelander, 1979, cited in Romaine, 1982: 3). In addition to this, Labov indicates some cases where prestige is associated with certain local dialects even in North America (for example, Philadelphia local dialect) and how these dialects can reverse the normal flow of influence. According to him, "Once we are willing to refine our notion of prestige to give full weight to the local prestige associated with [some dialects]", we can understand how some "local prestige . . . is powerful enough to reverse the normal flow of influence, and allow the local patterns to move upward to the upper middle class and even to the upper class" (Labov, 1979:15). Consequently, one should consider all types of prestige, as some can be covert. Hence, when some stigmatized dialects "are maintained over a long period of time, and even expand in the face of that stigmatization, one is forced to consider the existence of an opposing set of values that do not readily emerge in a formal situation, and some firm evidence has been produced for the existence of such covert prestige" (Labov, 2001: 24). Thus, when the situation in the Middle East is re-analysed in this way, as Chambers puts it, "taking into account the social ramifications of diaglossia, the discrepancy between male and

female responses in Middle Eastern and Western societies disappears" (Chambers, 1995: 143-144). Thus, it is important for linguists not to be "misled into thinking that what is unusual in a particular language or language family, or simply unfamiliar to them, may also be universally non-natural" (Trudgill, 1996: 9-10).

This dialect could be referred to in Jordan in my terminology as /?AD/. This is because a key feature of this dialect is the use of /?/.

The urban dialect used in Jordan is a home-grown dialect with a Jordanian flavour: "the Jordanian and the Palestinian features are roughly equally represented" (Al Wer, 2000: 32). Both groups "are engaged in the making of [this] new dialect . . . At the consonantal level, features already present in the parents' dialects are used, but the combination of features . . . is innovation" (Al-Wer, 2000: 46-47). When dealing with this dialect as a whole we can say that it has its own identity in Jordan. It is not the dialect of Damascus, or the dialect of Cairo, or Jerusalem or Nablus or any other place. It is a dialect for which "there is no linguistic metropolis to copy" (Al Wer, 2000; 29). It is constructed in such a way as to become in "itself the linguistic metropolis of Jordan" (Al-Wer, 2000: 29).

The previous discussion shows the importance of the variant used and how the choice of a variant causes a change in the whole situation. This process is not a random one as it may 'signal' a different view from that which one might wish to signal. Thus, a major part of our study will be an attempt to investigate how all of these social, political, and economic developments which have taken place in Jordan in general, and Karak in particular, have played a major role in re-forming the social connotations attached to some variants of certain phonological variables. As a result, sound change in progress or even a completed sound change could be noticed. A major purpose of this study is to highlight the pattern of variation

existing within the speech of the Fallahis and to test if this pattern of variation correlates with particular linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. We are particularly interested in certain sociological factors such as age, sex and level of education.

The investigation of linguistic variation in the speech of the Fallahis living in Karak will be carried out in light of the Labovian paradigm (where "paradigm means something like approach" as Hudson (1996: 145) puts it). According to Mesthrie, "William Labov, argued, . . . that language involved structured heterogeneity. By this he meant . . . that language contained systematic variation which could be characterised and explained by patterns of social differentiation within speech communities. This body of work has come to be known by various names: variationist theory, the quantitative paradigm, urban dialectology, the Labovian school, secular linguistics" (Mesthrie, 2000: 77). Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal note that "The major contribution of Labovian-style variationist sociolinguistics-studying the language use patterns of speakers as members of groups - has been to demonstrate that there are indeed predictable macro-patterns and a hierarchy among the social identity factors associated with variation in the patterns" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001). The Labovian paradigm also demonstrates that "it matters who the speakers are, and what they have to say, and what they are doing with their language" (Guy, 1997: x) and why anyone says anything" (Linde, 1997: 3). The Labovian paradigm will be the basic foundation of our study. Wolfram and Thomas state that the "assumption that speakers who are socially similar can be expected to be linguistically similar, which we will call the *homogeneity assumption*, has been named as a basic tenet of the 'quantitative paradigm' . . ., that is, the investigative framework established by Labov, and it pervades much sociolinguistic work" (Wolfram and Thomas, 2002, 161). But Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal note that "a social factors model can provide

general outlines to account for the majority of choices, it can not explain all the choices" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 5). Thus, in our study the cases which are not part of the majority will also be explained and the speakers will also be discussed as individuals as "even though most choices reflect some societal pattern, speakers make linguistic choices as individuals. That is, choices ultimately lie with the individual and are rationally based" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 1). But the quantitative paradigm will remain our major tool of analysis as "social mechanisms such as rationality allow us to explain, but do "not necessarily produce quantitative evidence" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 23-24). As quantification is an essential methodological tool of the variationist paradigm (Milroy & Milroy, 1997: 49), this study will be carried out quantitatively, i.e. by counting variants and comparing the incidence of variants in different speakers and groups of speakers. The aim of this branch of sociolinguistics is explicitly comparative - to compare texts or people with one another (Hudson, 1996: 147). According to Hudson:

> "Each predetermined variable provides a separate dimension on which texts may be compared. For instance, we might have a hundred tape recordings of different people using different variants. We can group the speakers on the basis of their use of variants - distinguishing for instance between people who use [h] in words like 'house' and those who do not, between those who use 'any' and those who use 'no' after a negative, and so on. These groupings are similar in function to the dialect geographer's isoglosses and (like isoglosses) typically do not coincide with one another. That is it is unlikely that a hundred speakers will fall into precisely, or even approximately, the same groupings on the basis of any two of the different variables, just as it is unlikely that two different isoglosses will follow the same route. It should be clear that this way of studying linguistic variables in texts is precisely what is demanded by the view of language which includes that individual speakers choose among the available variants of all the available variables in order to locate themselves in a highly complex multi-dimensional social space. We have seen many examples of different linguistic

variables which reflect different social contrasts. For instance, in the sentence 'John'll be extremely narked', each word except 'be' relates to a different dimension in this social space: 'John' (rather than, say Mr Brown) locates the speaker relative to John, 'll (rather than 'will') locates the occasion on the causal –formal dimension, 'extremely' locates the speaker on the educated-uneducated dimension, and 'narked' (a regionalism meaning 'angry') locates the speaker regionally."

(Hudson, 1996: 146-147).

Chapter Two

Methodology

2.1 Methodology

This section includes four subsections. 2.1.1 provides an overview of the research. 2.1.2 is about the sample. 2.1.3 discusses the choice of the sample. Section 2.1.4 describes the interview which we conducted.

2.1.1 The research

Labov reports that "the first contribution of sociolinguistic research in the second half of the 20th century was to show that variation was not chaotic, but well formed and rule-governed, that it was indeed an aspect of linguistic structure" (Labov, 2001: 38). Trudgill adds that current speech forms can provide "an excellent laboratory for the testing of linguistic hypotheses" (Trudgill, 1974: 4). According to Mesthrie:

> Earlier explanations of language variation within a dialect area fell into one of two categories: dialect mixture and free variation. Dialect mixture implies the coexistence in one locality of two or more dialects, which enables a speaker to draw on one dialect at one time, and on the other dialect (s) on other occasions. Free variation refers to the random use of alternate forms within a particular dialect (for example two pronunciations of *often*, with or without the /t/ sounded). The proponents of these views assumed that linguistic analysis excludes the choices that speakers make. William Labov argued, by contrast, that language involves structured heterogeneity. By this he meant that language contains "systematic variation which could be characterized and explained by patterns of social differentiation within speech communities (Mesthrie, 2000: 77).

Labov argues that "instead of considering any variation just as free or sporadic variation and abandoning the field, we will pursue the matter further, using every available clue to discover the pattern which governs [such variation]" (Labov, 1972a: 9). Later studies emphasized this approach and showed that the majority of such variation is not at all free but is on the contrary structured and socially determined in sociologically and linguistically interesting ways (Trudgill, 1974: 3).

These general theoretical advances have led to a small number of works which deal with the specifics of Arabic in its social context and in the light of its relationship with both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors in the area (Jordan) (Al Khatib, 1988: 41). The most important of these studies are: Abdel Jawad (1981), Al Khatib (1988), and Al-Wer (1991). These studies present excellent results with regard to linguistic variation. All adopt the face-to-face interview technique to elicit data.

Our study is also empirical in its methods, in that it is fully dependent on naturalistic speech. It also follows these pioneer studies conducted in Jordan. All the interviews, which were conducted in Karak, were made using the face-to-face technique for obtaining data with regard to linguistic variation (henceforth LV). 'The creation of self-involvement' in the variationist analyses, coming as a result of face-to-face interviews, provides an important "methodological tool for interactional analyses: [it] is both a prerequisite to communication and an outcome of shared contextualization cues" (Schiffrin, 1997: 41). We need to know both what varying structures of language, and what the speakers' knowledge of these variables, can tell us about speakers or interaction between speakers in naturalistic settings (Milroy and Milroy, 1997: 48). Thus, the aims of this work are:

1-.To reveal any linguistic variance at work within the immigrant Fallahi group in the Karak area in terms of levelling, and to analyze the contributing factors involved. By

levelling we mean the attempt of the speaker to accommodate his/her speech, by using features from other dialects found in the area.

2- To investigate the interrelation of phonological/morphological and sociological variables. This is hoped to improve our understanding of the relationship between the use of phonological/morphological variables and sociological variables such as age, sex, and education.

3- To determine the accommodation strategies relied on by members of this group in conversation with those having a different dialect (in this case ourselves as the researcher).

2.1.2 The sample

The sample includes Jordanians who are originally from rural areas in Palestine and who immigrated to the Karak area as a result of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948.

We hypothesize that the determinant of possible linguistic variation in the speech of this group is mediated by its members' self-perception as a minority amidst another dominant group (for more details see chapter one, subsection 1.2.4). This immigration made this group not only a minority but also immigrants who suffered socially and financially when they arrived in the Karak area. Socially, they suffered as a result of their being forced to adapt to the customs and beliefs of the Karak society. In an area like Karak, they have also faced the fact that they are living in a tribal society in which the tribe provides the primary identity. Consequently, in such a tribal society these people found that they had not only lost their country but also their social identity. They lost the group to which they originally belonged. In addition the social position of this group was affected by the socio-political developments taking place in Jordan as a whole. For

example, the civil war in 1970 caused this group to be perceived as a defeated element belonging to those who tried to resist the regime and take over the country (see also chapter 1 for more details). These two factors played the major role in determining the social value of these people in the Karak area. Given that "the social value associated to certain groups in a society will be attached to the linguistic forms used by the members of these groups" (Wolfram, 1997: 120) it is expected that some linguistic forms of the original dialect of this group will be stigmatized and other linguistic features from the local dominant variety will spread at their expense. For example, the variant [k] of the variable (Q) is expected to be directly involved in such processes as it is seen as directly opposed to the local variant [g] of the variable (Q) (see Al Khatib, 1988; Al–Wer, 1991). We believe that the speech of these people will differ, accordingly, from that of their original dialect as a result of contact between their original dialect and the dialects found in the area, and their newly established social connotations. The determinant of this variation is to a great extent the new social position of these people as immigrants living as a minority among another socially dominant local group. We believe that while the above mentioned factors are a negative influence on the social value of the group, two opposing factors push against this tide. These positive factors are the increasing economic prosperity of the group, and their latent heritage connecting them to major urban centres. As such we anticipate that these positive factors will result in the preservation of some of the variants defining the key features of their dialect. These people succeeded in a relatively short time in dominating the area financially, since they dominate the *suq* (market) as a result of their willingness to work in areas not acceptable to indigenous Karakis for social reasons. It is also expected that their being "the least number of Palestinian refugees" (Gubser, 1973: 1) who live as a minority among another socially dominant group may be a factor in their resisting local linguistic forms and in leading them not only to maintain but also to advocate the use of their own linguistic forms as this

can "serve as a link with the glorious past and with authenticity" (Fasold, 1984: 3). According to Bonner, diminishing use of one's own dialect "indicates the loss of a vital link of the past" (Bonner, 2001: 85).

Thus, for a better understanding of the meaning of linguistic variation and the social connotations of the use of one or other linguistic form, all of these factors are to be considered. This comprehensive understanding can also help us interpret why "certain linguistic features which are already present in the original input varieties can spread at the expense of others" (Al-Wer, 2000: 28) and why they win out.

The present study will be carried out on 48 Jordanian informants who immigrated from Palestine to the area in 1948 as a result of the Arab-Israeli war or who are the descendents of such immigrants, in order to investigate linguistic variation in the speech of this group. These people have now become a major element of the social structure of the Karak area. Although they live in different parts of this area, the majority of them live in a village called Al Manshieh. This village started as a small immigrant camp but is now a relatively big town of about 5,000 people. It differs from the other camps in Jordan in that it was not established by UNRWA (United Nations Relief and Works Agency). This is because the number of these immigrants was very small and was thus not taken into consideration by this Agency. Thus, unlike other Palestinians in other parts of Jordan, they were not offered any school buildings, medical centres, or any other services. This prevented their children from getting free education. It also deprived them of the job opportunities, as teachers, doctors and nurses, that this agency used to offer to other immigrants in the area in its various schools, medical centres and administrative offices. This led this group to suffer more than other immigrants and thus to accept some kinds of work known to be looked down upon in the tribal Karak community.

The number of the sample is acceptable and similar to the number of the informants in many similar studies, For example, the number of the informants in

Trudgill's (1974) study was 60 in a city with a population of 118,610. This was considered by him "large enough and sufficiently scientifically devised to permit reasonably confident assertions to be made concerning the population as a whole, and small enough to permit accurate and intensive study over a limited period of time" (Trudgill, 1974: 21). Trudgill states that "This sample is considerably smaller than those used both in New York City and in Detroit, but Labov has demonstrated that a sample even smaller than this is sufficient for the purposes of a linguistic survey" (Trudgill, 1974: 21). As Labov notes: "the structure of social and stylistic variation of language can be studied through samples considerably smaller than those required for the study of other forms of social behaviour" (Labov, 1966: 638). This is because "Samples going beyond 150 individuals tend to increase data-handling problems without a significant gain in analytic insights" (Mesthrie, 2000: 92). Al Khatib's study in Jordan comprises 38 informants in a city of 200,000. Mesthrie states that "In practice, sociolinguistic surveys are based on anything from 40-150 speakers" (Mesthrie, 2000: 92).

2.1.3 Choosing the sample

It is difficult to choose a sample randomly in Karak because in an Arab society, unlike Western societies, it is impossible to conduct an interview (especially a tape-recorded interview) with any person who is not related to the interviewer. The sample is also supposed to include women. This complicates the process and makes it much more difficult. In the West it is possible to choose a sample randomly in carrying out similar studies. Trudgill's study (1974) in Norwich (England) in which he was able to choose his sample using a quasi-random selection of people who were taken from the local register of electors is a good example of the possibility of adopting such a method in Western societies. But, Trudgill confesses that even in such an open Western society some of those who were chosen randomly "were less willing or more suspicious than others . . . and

others refused to participate" (Trudgill, 1974: 25). Karak society is also unlike Western societies, especially urban ones, in that the society is not heterogeneous and social structure, being tribally based, is less complex. Unlike Western societies, person-to-person contact is possible and is a reliable method. According to Trudgill, "in Western societies where typically the population is heterogeneous, and both socially and geographically mobile . . . And the social structure is of a complexity . . . close individual knowledge of the area [is] impossible, and person-to-person contact as a means of selecting informants [is] useless" (Trudgill, 1974: 20). Karak society is unlike Western societies in that it is conservative. Thus, it is impossible to select the sample randomly. However, it is also unlike Western societies in that it is not highly complex. Person-to-person contact is possible.

This clarification of the nature of Arab communities in general and the group chosen for the study, in particular, is necessary for those who are not familiar with our communities, because, as Walters puts it, "Despite the fact that within the last decade social scientists in many fields have become wary of exporting research methodologies developed in the West or generalizing from studies conducted here . . . many sociologists still hear the world with Western ears (Walter, 1991: 199). Under such circumstances, and in a society like that of Karak, the social network framework is to be followed and the informant is to approach in the capacity of "a friend of a friend" or in some cases "a friend of a friend of a friend" (Milroy and Milroy, 1978).

We initially believed that two factors would play a major role in helping us carry out this research: 1- The fact that we have been teaching in the only mixed college in the area for more than 10 years would allow us: (a) to conduct interviews with females without needing another female to conduct these interviews on our behalf. This belief was found to be incorrect; and (b) to have a large social network on which we could depend to draw my sample. This was proved to be correct. 2- The fact that we were the first to

conduct an anthropological study in the area which took us a year to finish made us familiar with the local culture, traditions, and socio-economic factors that have played a role in the different aspects of local people's lives. This was important "since the essence of local social meaning is that it is part of local knowledge, and its interpretation depends on the kind of familiarity with local social practice that ethnography yields" (Eckert, 1996: 47). Our large social network in fact enabled us to draw our samples from different kinds of people and from both sexes.

Contrary to what we believed, in the process of conducting this research we discovered what other researchers in the Arab world have discovered before us; the inherent difficulty of a male to female interview. As such, we were obliged to engage a female assistant interviewer to perform some of the interviews with female subjects. Al Khatib faced the same kind of problems while conducting a similar study in Irbid (Jordan) and he was forced to seek help from a woman to interview women. According to him, "As in other studies of Arabic carried out by male researchers (e.g. Abdul-Jawad 1981) and dealing with the influence of sex on variation, we encountered some difficulties with respect to finding and interviewing female speakers. Three women (one older and two middle-aged speakers), who were needed to complete the cells in question, agreed to be tape recorded provided that the interviewer was a female" (Al Khatib, 1988: 72). Daher (1999) also used a female interviewer "in her early thirties" to conduct interviews in Damascus (Daher, 1999: 167). He notes that "In fact almost all of the informants consented to be interviewed because they knew the interviewer personally and trusted her" (Daher, 1999: 168). This problem can take further dimensions and prevent the researcher from even including the sex factor in his study in the area. Thus, for example, Al-Jehani whose research was conducted on Makkan Arabic (Saudi Arabia) excluded women from his study because the cultural norms restrict women (Al Jehani, 1985). Elgibali also indicates that he suffered from this problem. According to him, "Social

restrictions on interactions between males and females in certain sectors of a traditional Arab society like Kuwait made it difficult to find enough female interviewers to participate in the wide variety of situations required in the data collection [consequently] all data collection was limited to male subjects" (Elgibali, 1993: 78). Nevertheless, "it should be recognized," as Labov has noted, "that we are often dealing with the politics of the possible, and that many excellent and important results have followed from a truncated methodology" (Labov, 2001: 39).

2.1.4 The interviews

The interviews were carried out in the area by the researcher (myself) during the period 1/5/2001 to 1/8/2001. In a few cases we found it necessary to hire a female interviewer. Our assistant is well-educated and has had copious experience in interview-based-research. She was also trained by us to follow the specific parameters of this study. It was found that the informants were cooperative with her and were more relaxed and outgoing in their speech than the females who agreed to be interviewed by us.

The interviews were conducted in shops, offices, houses, and workshops. This was determined by the availability of the informants.

An important issue here is the observer's paradox , i.e., "while the aim of the linguistic research is to know how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation" (Labov, 1972a: 181). We adopted Labov's method of overcoming this and breaking through the constraints of the interview situation by using various devices which aim to divert attention away from speech so as to let the vernacular emerge (Labov, 1972a: 181). We tried to achieve this aim by asking some questions that could help us to involve the informants in issues that could make them unconsciously assume that they were not being recorded. These questions included some which could create strong emotions they had

felt in the past or involve them in other contexts (Labov, 1972a: 182). Among the most successful questions of this type are those dealing with the danger of death or the type suggested by Trudgill (1974) in his study in Norwich. These questions are about humorous events that happened to the informants. Informants find themselves under some compulsion to make the story seem amusing, and usually become involved in the story-telling and the comedy of the situation to an extent that overrides the formal constraints of the interview (Trudgill, 1974: 513).

It was found during the interviews that a variety of levels of response was attained depending upon the subjects' age and gender. Older people interviewed (irrespective of gender) evidenced no reticence in coming forward with their own narratives, while those of a younger generation, were more reticent (with young females the least forthcoming of all). Contrary to expectation, the topics which elicited the most extensive responses from women were found to be those pertaining to their domestic pursuits; cookery, household management and the like and from men those pertaining to social customs and beliefs, whilst the broader, more potentially impassioned subjects such as politics engendered a more hesitant response. Perhaps the nature of these differing levels of enthusiasm for the question subjects can be explained in terms of cultural expectations regarding the different genders. Females are typically expected to be good in the kitchen and raise children, whilst the men get on with the business of dealing with the outside world. The choice of topics had the added benefit of providing a good basis for comparison of variants. The discussion of social customs indirectly obliged the subjects to use certain words, as did the topic of cookery. For example, talking about cookery obliged women to use words such as: /bingaššir/ 'we peel', /bingallib/ 'we turn', /bingaTTi9/ 'we cut up', /bnigli/ 'we fry', /bnislug/ 'we boil', each of which could be used with one of the variants of the variable (Q). In talking also about customs and beliefs, certain words such as /taqaaliid/ 'traditions', /Tariiqat/ 'way [of]', /aqaarib/ 'relatives', /kunna/ 'we were',

/qadiiman/ 'in the past', /qiTaar/ 'convoy of vehicles in a wedding procession', /9ilaaqaat/ 'relations' were also used. The use of the same words helps us to test the use of the investigated variants in the same words by the different speakers.

2.2 Parameters of the study

This section includes three subsections. In 2.2.1 we discuss the parameter of sex. In 2.2.2 we discuss the parameter of age and in 2.2 3 we discuss the parameter of education.

2.2.1 Parameter of sex:

Trudgill notes that "It has been known for some considerable time that in some societies language is involved in covariation, not only with parameters such as social stratification, social context and age, but also with the parameter of sex" (Trudgill, 1983: 161). Most of the studies (Haeri, 1996; Eckert, 1997; Chambers, 1995; Al-Wer, 1991; Labov, 2001, among others) which discuss the role of women in linguistic variation and their major contribution to sound change in many societies emphasise the social nature of gender differences. The British sociologist Anthony Giddens defines sex as biological or anatomical differences between men and women, whereas gender concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females (Wodak and Benke, 1997: 128). We believe that it is these psychological, social, and cultural differences between men and women that are responsible for their linguistic differences. Most studies indicate that men and women behave differently linguistically because of the differences in what is expected from them in their societies. Labov argues that "it seems best to pursue the social basis of the female predominance in linguistic change, pending more convincing demonstrations of a biologically based cognitive superiority" (Labov, 2001: 291). Romaine also indicates the necessity of considering "the socio-cultural dimension of the division of humans into male and female persons (i.e. gender), rather

than its biological determinations (i.e. sex)" (Romaine, 1994: 101) when studying language and gender.

Haeri reports that "Labov discussed the role of women in linguistic change, reviewed examples of sound changes in which women were ahead of men and had "moved" forward faster, " and asked "why do women do this ?". Stressing that answers to this question "are not better than speculations," he goes on to suggest that "the sexual differentiation of speakers is therefore not a product of physical differences alone, or of different amounts of referential information supplied by speakers, but rather an expressive posture which is socially more appropriate for one sex or the other" (Labov, 1984: 304; cited in Haeri, 1996: 101). Furthermore, "Numerous studies have demonstrated the existence of a direct link between speakers' choice of variants and certain social factors, such as gender, educational level, and social class" (Daher, 1998: 140).

Thus, we have taken sex as a social factor as we believe it has a very powerful effect on the way people behave linguistically. This is expected to be dependent on the role each sex normally plays in Karak society. Labov, for example, suggests that the pattern of speech of men and women in the Near East reflects the fact that "women may play a lesser role in public life in those societies" (Labov, 2001: 270).

Another reason which makes us consider gender as a social factor in our study is that in many other studies gender appears to be an important factor in the way of speaking and that the two sexes appear to behave differently linguistically. For example, Romaine reports that "one of the sociolinguistic patterns established by quantitative research on urban social dialects was that women, regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc., use more standard forms of language than men" (Romaine, 1994: 99). Such differences in the linguistic behaviour of males and females are also reported by Labov in Philadelphia. According to Labov, "the behavior of women is far from uniform across the Philadelphia speech community . . . [but it was found that] women use a lower

level of stigmatized variables than men" (Labov, 2001: 265). Labov also notes that "One way of presenting a unified account is to argue that both conservative and innovative behaviors reflect women's superior sensitivity to the social evaluation of language. In stable situations, women perceive and react to prestige or stigma more strongly than men do, and when change begins, women are quicker and more forceful in employing the new social symbolism, whatever it might be" (Labov, 2001: 291). Labov tried to account for the reason why "men appeared to favor the prestige form more than women. . . . in a contiguous area in the Near East and South Asia" (Labov, 2001: 270) by speculating that this might be a result of women's secondary role in public life in these societies (Labov, 2001). It is also worth mentioning in this context that Labov (2001) considers this a reversal of the positions of men and women as linguistic studies in these countries (for example, Abdel Jawad 1981 in Amman) indicate that men favoured the use of prestige form more than women. But it is also worth mentioning that Haeri 1987 and Abdel-Jawad "have challenged the existence of a reversal in gender behaviour in the Near East, arguing that it is based on an erroneous interpretation of the role of Classical Arabic [i.e. Standard Arabic] as comparable to the standard languages of the West" as also indicated by Labov (2001: 270). Haeri points out that the closest parallel to such a standard is not Classical Arabic but modern urban forms of Arabic that women do in fact prefer – e.g. "the glottal stop in place of /q/ in Amman . . . and that women in those societies actually were behaving like women in other societies" (Haeri, 1996; cited in Labov, 2001: 270).

Sidnell (1999) also indicates the significance of gender in different patterns of variation. Thus, he reports that "In the village, there is a generally held belief that women should spend more time than men at home; and in many ways their movement is restricted. Women must be careful both in how they move through the community (who they interact with, etc.) and in how they talk - both concerns that emanate from a common community-based construction of gender roles" (Sidnell, 1999: 394).

Al Khatib (1988) also found gender significant in understanding the linguistic scene in Irbid (Jordan) and considered it the "factor which seems to be invaluable in helping to reveal the origin and tendency of change" (Al Khatib, 1988: 126). Al Khatib found that "The breakdown of data by sex groups . . . indicates that men show significantly higher percentages of use of the SA variant [q] than women do" (Al Khatib, 1988: 126).

In addition in a society like Karak the role of women in social life is expected to be very limited. Social constraints are expected to play a major role in patterning women's way of speaking and in determining the linguistic variables which they choose.

Our belief that the role expected from women differs from that expected from men and that the priorities of males and females differ in the Karak community, like most other Arab communities, leads us to expect that these different expectations and priorities will be reflected in the way of speaking of both sexes. In other words, since these differences exist, we speculate that members of each sex will try to choose the way of speaking which is relevant to what is expected of them. Other studies in the Arab world and in Jordan in particular indicate that the two sexes behave linguistically differently as a result of the role which is expected from each of them. For example, Abdel-Jawad (1988) "found that in Amman men use SA more than women" (Labov, 2001: 270). Though Abdel-Jawad does not indicate directly the significance of the differences in the role of the two sexes, we speculate on the basis of other studies carried out in Amman (for example Al-Wer, 1999) that the difference in the role expected of the two sexes was the direct reason for this difference in linguistic behaviour.

Thus, we have decided to take gender as one of our independent factors. We believe that sex cannot be ignored if we intend to give a clear picture of the linguistic situation in the Karak community and to determine the real factors which lead to linguistic variation and possible sound change in Karak.

2.2.2 Parameter of age

Age also has been found by many studies in the Arab world (Abdel-Jawad, 1981, Al Khatib, 1988; Al Wer, 1990, 2000; Eckert, 1997; Al Zu'bi, 2001) to be very significant in accounting for speech differences between different groups of speakers. The study of age in relation to language, in particular the study of linguistic variation, is important because as Eckert puts it "Age stratification of linguistic variables . . . can reflect change in the speech of the community as it moves through time (historical change), and change in the speech of the individual as he or she moves through life (age grading)" (Eckert, 1997: 151). It also, like gender, "correlates with variation by virtue of its social, not its biological status" (Eckert, 1997: 152).

The different roles expected from different ages is speculated to be something which might lead to the different ways of speaking. In the Karak community we find different roles expected from different age groups. We expect that the way of speaking of the different age groups might differ as a result of the attempt of each group to behave according to what is socially expected from it. "Community studies of variation frequently show that increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech" (Eckert, 1997: 152). For example, we speculate that the fact that the degree of pressure exerted on the old differs from that exerted on the young will lead to a different degree of freedom in moving toward or away from the traditional way of speaking in the Karak community. Indeed, Al-Wer (1991) indicates that in Arab communities, the pressure exerted on the old is much greater than that exerted on the young. Al Khatib also indicates that "the older people . . . appear to adhere to the linguistic features which they have used for a long time. This is partly because of their age and partly because of their emotional attachment to the traditional norms" (Al Khatib, 1988: 126). Thus, we expect

that the young would be freer than the old in abandoning what is native in favour of what might be considered more prestigious.

In our study we adopt the etic approach. Eckert states that "The etic approach groups speakers in arbitrarily determined but equal age spans such as decades" (Eckert, 1997: 155). Speakers could also be grouped emically where "speakers [can be grouped] according to some shared experienced of time. This shared experience can be related to life stage or history" (Eckert, 1997: 155).

In grouping of speakers we also, however take into consideration that certain major historical events which took place during the age span of the population might lead to abrupt patterns of change in the speech of those born before or after these events (Eckert, 1997). In our study some of the group under investigation were, indeed, born before a central event in the area, the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, and some were born after this event. Eckert also indicates that work on Quebec French "has shown a variety of abrupt patterns of change in the speech of those born before and after the years of the Depression and World War II" (Eckert, 1997: 166). In grouping our speakers we have taken this fact into consideration and have thus tried to put those who were born before the 1948 war in groups that differ from those born after that war. Thus, we have three groups; the young, the middle-age group and the old. The young are classified as those who are between 18 and 39 years old, the middle-age group as those between 40 and 59, and the old as those who are above 60. This means that all of the old were born before the 1948 war and all of the young were born after that war. Most of those who are in the middle-age group were also born after the war. Only a small number in the middle-age group were born before the war but at that time they were less than 4 years old. In other words, they were too young at that time to have mastered their native dialect, and for this dialect to have become settled. Thus, they do not differ linguistically from other people in their age group who were born in Jordan after the war.

Other studies also stress the importance of grouping age in three groups, young, middle and old, demonstrating that the social expectations of each age group determine what pattern of variants they might present. For example, Romaine reports that "In a study done of the Gullah Creole spoken in parts of the south-eastern United States, older women were heaviest users of Gullah because they worked in domestic and agricultural positions. Older men worked mostly in construction. Younger people of both sexes had more access to white-collar jobs and service positions which brought them into contact with standard English" (Romaine, 1994: 143).

Our study is an apparent time study. This kind of study can only reflect contemporary variation. In order to tell if this variation reflects sound change in progress we need "evidence in real time" (Eckert, 1997: 152). This can only be obtained by "comparing the usage of speech communities at two points in time" (Romaine, 1994: 143). This requires a number of years to reach results and as such the apparent time methodology has an advantage over the real-time methodology in its being quicker to obtain results. Furthermore "Other studies [for example, Cedergren (1984)] in apparent time have found evidence not only of historical change, but of age grading" (Eckert, 1997: 153).

2.2.3 Parameter of education

In our study educated speakers are those who have completed high school (Tawjihi) or more, while the uneducated are those who have not completed High school. We believe that education is important as a social factor for two reasons. Firstly, it enables speakers to use numerous words which contain the SA variant [q]. Secondly, education can reflect the kind of experiences which a person might have had. Linguistically, level of education can be used as a good indicator in the Arab world of a person's ability and tendency to use SA forms. This is because SA forms are only

normally attainable in schools (Al Khatib, 1988). Most of the studies in the Arab world (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Kanakri 1988; Al Khatib 1988; Amara et al 1999, among others) indicate that there is a strong correlation between the use of the [q] variant, in particular, and one's level of education.

Level of education is also important as it can reflect the type of people a speaker might deal with and the type and amount of contact a speaker can have. Thus, Al-Wer states that "The principal significance of the level of education of the speaker . . . is that it indicates the amount of contacts a speaker has had with outside communities" (Al-Wer, 1991: 52). For example, in a society like the one under investigation it was until recently necessary for anyone wishing to pursue his or her studies to travel to other cities in the kingdom or even to other countries, as there were no universities in the Karak area. Only roughly 15 years ago was the first university established in the Karak area. But still many students have to travel abroad if they wish to purse their study as the new local university cannot accommodate them all. This means that those who are educated are expected to be influenced by other dialects as a result of their studying outside the Karak area, something which might lead them to behave linguistically in a different way from the uneducated. Thus level of education has been considered in this study.

We also believe that level of education can be an important factor in the use of the prestigious urban variant considered in our study. Traveling abroad to obtain education might lead speakers to go to other cities in the kingdom where the use of the prestigious urban variant is more frequent than it is in the Karak area.

2.3 The variables

This section includes four subsections. In 2.3.1 we discuss the notion of variables. In 2.3.2 we discuss the (Q) variable. In 2.3.3 we discuss the (Vki) variable and in 2.3.4 we discuss the (K) variable.

2.3.1 Definition of variables

Hudson defines variables as "elements which are known in advance to have different realisations, such as words which have more than one pronunciation (*house* with or without [h], or *either* starting with [i:] or with [ai], and so on). For each variable, there is a list of its variants - the alternative forms known to be used - and the investigator goes through a collection of data noting which variants were used for each variable in the list" (Hudson, 1996: 146). Labov claims that "The correct analysis of the linguistic variable is the most important step in sociolinguistic investigation" (Labov, 1972b: 72). Labov states that "To define a linguistic variable, we must (a) state the total range of linguistic contexts in which it occurs, (b) define as many phonetic variants as we can reasonably distinguish, and (c) set up a quantitative index for measuring values of the variables (Labov, 1972b: 71). Given that, the choice of the variables must not be random and should meet the criteria suggested by those whose studies were good examples of the successful use of this method. Thus, the variables involved in this study are selected on the grounds suggested by Trudgill (1974):

(a) The amount of apparent social significance in the pronunciation of the segments involved; and

(b) The amount of phonetic differentiation involved.

This selection is made on the basis that:

1- I have good knowledge of the speech of the area (I am an Arabic native speaker and I have lived in the same area for 10 years).

2-Many studies in the Arab world have indicated the importance of these variables (Abdel Jawad 1981; Al Khatib 1988, Al-Wer 1991; Daher 1998; Amara 1999) in carrying social meanings in contemporary spoken dialects.

In choosing the phonological/morphological variables we also kept in mind the recommendations of Labov:

> First we want an item that is frequent, which occurs so often in the course of undirected natural conversation that its behaviour can be charted from unstructured contexts and brief interviews. Secondly, it should be structural: the more the item is integrated into a larger system of functioning units, the greater will be the intrinsic linguistic interest of our study. Third, the distribution of the feature should suggest an asymmetric distribution over a wide range of age levels or other ordered strata of society. (Labov, 1972b: 8)

Hudson also notes that

> This frequency requirement suggested by Labov tends to rule out the study of individual words, except for those like pronouns which occur very frequently; and in stead of studying, say how the word *house* is pronounced one asks how words spelt with *h* are pronounced, i.e. each of the linguistic variables tends to include a whole class of words. (Hudson, 1996: 147).

We also decided to choose variables that are considered salient. Trudgill's criteria in determining the salience of a variable (and thus degree of awareness) include: over-stigmatisation, involvement in linguistic change, radical phonetic differences between the variants involved, and involvement in the maintenance of phonological contrast (Trudgill, 1986: 11; cited in Al-Wer, 1997: 34)

For this study we have chosen three variables, two phonological and one morphological. All of these, we believe are highly salient. The variables are:

1- (Q), pronounced as a voiceless uvular stop /q/ in Standard Arabic.

2- (K), pronounced as a voiceless velar stop /k/ in Standard Arabic and many dialects.

3- (Vki), the 2nd person feminine singular suffix pronoun, pronounced as /Vki/ in Standard Arabic, and as /ik/ in most Arabic dialects. Here the initial V stands for either the nominative case-suffix /u/, or the accusative case-suffix /a/, or the genitive case-suffix /i/.

To explain how these variables have met the criteria mentioned above, we will deal with them separately. It should be noted that variables are symbolised by enclosure in parentheses (Trudgill, 1974), while their variants (i.e., possible alternative representations (Elgibali, 1993)) are enclosed in square brackets [ ].

2.3.2 The variable (Q)

The variable (Q) has the variants [q], [d3], [ʔ], [g], and [k]. Each of these variants is considered the key feature of the dialect in which it is used. Abdel Jawad, 'Labov's source for the Arab world' (Walters, 1991: 201) states that "because of the social and geographical importance of this variable [(Q)] as a carrier of local or regional loyalties, it has often been used by dialectologists as the main criterion for establishing the dialect boundaries or isolosses in the Arabic dialects" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981: 159). It "is probably the best studied variable in the language" (Chambers, 1995: 140). According to Al-Wer, "the use of [g] in opposition to [k] symbolises local and Jordanian identity in opposition to Palestinian" (Al-Wer, 2000: 31). Thus, as [k] symbolizes non-local it becomes stigmatized. It is worth noticing here that "social affect is not in fact assigned to the very surface level: it is not the sounds of language which receive stigma or prestige, but rather the use of a particular allophone for a given phoneme" (Labov, 2001: 28). Thus, the sound [k] is not stigmatized in general as it is found in the prestige norm in /kaanuu/ 'they

were' (as opposed to the stigmatized form /Caanuu/) but it is stigmatized as an allophone of the phoneme /q/ in a word like /qalb/ 'heart'. Al-Wer (1997) states that "In Jordan, as well as in many other Arabic speaking countries, variants of (Q) are used as labels to identify dialects; speakers are stereotyped as belonging to one or another ethnic group depending on which variant of (Q) they use . . ." (Al-Wer, 1997: 33).

The above examples indicate some of the different forms of the variants of (Q) in Jordanian society. In addition, the variant [q] must be apparent in the speech of anybody who wishes to identify himself with the prestigious Standard Arabic dialect. Al Khatib (1988) reports that variation is highly conditioned by the lexical status (being classified as pure-Standard, pure-colloquial, or Standard-colloquial (shared items)) of the word containing the linguistic variable (Q). Al Khatib mentions that "it was the (Q) variable that most often served to distinguish the three age groups [in his study] from one another" (Al Katib, 1988: 350).

Some researchers in this area have depended heavily on the variable (Q) to carry out their studies. For example, Abdel Jawad carried out his study in Amman (Jordan) using only the two variables: (Q) and (k) (Abdel Jawad, 1981). The importance of the (Q) variable and its variants is also crystallized in the fact that linguists used it and its variants to divide Arabic dialects into different types. Blanc (1964) used the "qeltu-gelet" dichotomy to differentiate between the dialects spoken within the Mesopotamian dialect area. We notice that /qeltu/ 'I said' and /gelet/ 'I said' have the two variants [q] and [g] after which the two groups of dialects are named. It is also noticed that in the Jordanian community the people who use the urban dialect are called the group of /?aal wa ?ulna/ 'he said and we said', indicating their use of the variant [?] of the variable (Q). Daher (1998) reported that the variant [?] of the variable (Q) "is strongly associated with the forces of urbanisation, modernisation, progress, and social mobility" (Daher, 1998: 189).

The use of [q] versus [?], [g], or [k] in Jordan is indicative of Standard Arabic versus Colloquial, respectively. The use of the [g] variant of (Q) is one of the salient characteristics of KAD, the use of the [k] variant of (Q) is one of the most salient characteristics of FAD, and the use of the [?] variant of (Q) is one of the salient characteristics of UAD. Thus, the choice of either [g] or [k] or [?] serves as a strong social marker in Karak: it identifies the speaker as a member of a particular social group.

The selecting of (Q) as a variable in our study is thus based on the various social connotations associated with it and its variants in the Karak area, in particular the ones mentioned above.

2.3.3 The variable (K)

The variable (K) has two variants. These are: [k] and [C].

Abdel Jawad (1981) reports that the affrication of k➔C in the Bedouin dialects descending from the Arabian Dialects took place in the contiguity of front vowels. According to Abdel Jawad (1981), linguistically, the original rule of k-affrication which makes the velar [k] realised as the affricate [C] can be expressed as:

k-affrication rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \\ -\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{coronal}] / \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ -\text{cons} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

However, neither the condition stated by the ancient Arab grammarian Sibawayhi (180 AH), on whom this rule is based, nor the conditions mentioned in other studies on the rural Palestinian and rural Jordanian dialects, such as the ones mentioned above, has any role in FAD and KAD. Strictly speaking, the velar /k/ can be realised as [C] in every possible place in a word by the Fallahi group living in Karak as well as by the local people of Karak The following are examples from the speech of the Fallahis:

2.2

/abuuk/ - /abuuC/ 'your (m. sg) father'

/karim/ - /Carim/ 'field'

/kunna/- /Cunna/ 'we were'

The prestige attached to the variant [k] comes as a result of its being perceived as the SA/Urban variant. The variant [C] is the stigmatised variant. The variant [C] is perceived as very rural and to a great extent is related to the dialect of the old. The variant [C] is found to be stigmatized in other studies (for example Al Khatib, 1988; Abdel Jawad, 1981; Al Zu'bi, 2001) in other local Jordanian dialects because of these social connotations. Thus, Al Khatib (1988) reports of Irbid that "the variant [C] is a highly stigmatized feature in the city . . . and most of the Jordanian people in Irbid City disfavour it" (Al Khatib, 1988: 236). Abdel Jawad (1981) also reports that "speakers are aware of this stigmatized feature more than any other feature and they try their best to avoid using it in their speech, especially in front of strangers" (Abdel Jawad, 1981: 279). The Classical Arab grammarian Al SuyuuTi stated that the use of [C] for [k], known as *kaškaša* in traditional Arabic grammar, is one of the ugliest of linguistic phenomena (Al

SuyuuTi 910H; cited in Al Zu'bi, 2001: 95). Ammayirih (2000) also reports that university students in Jordanian environment feel linguistically embarrassed about *kaškaša*. They thus avoid it with their university peers and only go back to using it when they return to their rural homes (Ammayirih, 2000). Accordingly, we can claim that the way the two variants of the variable (k) are perceived fulfills what Sturevant (1947) suggests is a condition which must be fulfilled before a phoneme can spread from word to word: namely, that one of its variants (in this case the variant [k]) is perceived as the prestigious one and one of its variants is perceived as a highly stigmatised one (Sturevant, 1947; cited in Labov, 2001).

2.3.4 The Variable (Vki)

We chose the variable (Vki) so as to make the data more representative of the linguistic system as a whole, in that, unlike (Q) and (k), (Vki) is not a phonological variable but a morphological one. (Vki) is the second person singular feminine pronoun suffix. Labov (1972a) notes that "The study of language in its social context cannot remain at the level of . . . phonological variables if it is to have significance" (Labov, 1972a: 195). The initial V in (Vki) indicates a vowel. In Standard Arabic, this vowel can be [u], [a] or [i] depending on the final vowel of the preceding element. In the case of nouns, this final vowel will be a case-ending. Standard Arabic has three cases: nominative, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–u*; accusative, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–a;* and genitive, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–i*. Thus, in /kayfa SiHHatuki/ "how is your health?" (literally "how health your"), SiHHa(tu) "health" is in the nominative case, and accordingly has *–u* before the pronoun suffix proper *–ki*. The preposition *fi*, however, like all prepositions in Standard Arabic, takes the genitive case. Thus, the form for 'in your house' is /fi baytiki/, /bayt/ 'house', with the genitive –i vowel before the pronoun suffix

proper [*ki*]. In the non-local colloquial, this second person feminine singular suffix is always realised as [ik] and in the local colloquial it is always realised as [ki].

This variable thus has three variants: [vki] (i.e. [u-ki]/[a-ki]/[i-ki]), [ki], and [ik]. All of them are alive and well in the Karak district. In addition their distributions indicate that they have different social values. The SA is [vki]. While [ki] is used in KAD, [ik] is used in the original dialect of the investigated group - the Fallahis. Thus, the SA word /uxtuki/ 'your sister' is pronounced by the Fallahis as /uxtik/ and by the Karakis as /uxtki/.

The local variant [ki] is typically used by the people of Karak. In fact, it is peculiar to Karak dialect in that it is almost exclusively used in the Karak district. As a result of this peculiarity the use of this variant not only helps its user to appear local but also as a Karaki, in particular. By contrast, the use of the local variant [g] helps its user to appear as local, but it does not necessarily help him to appear as a Karaki in that it is used in all other local Jordanian dialects. Thus, "the variable is dialectologically and sociolinguistically relevant, i.e. at least one of its variants is a feature of the local varieties . . ." (Al-Wer, 1991: 30).

Chapter Three

The variable (Q)

This chapter includes five sections. In section 3.0 we will introduce and discuss the (Q) variable. Section 3.1 will be about the [k] variant and [k]-preservers. The [g] variant and [g] adopters will be the subject of sections 3.2 - 3.3. The [?] variant will be the subject of sections 3.4 – 3.4.1.

3.0 Introduction

The Standard Arabic voiceless uvular stop (Q) is in many areas the most salient phonological feature by which speakers of colloquial Arabic varieties can be identified. It has at least five reflexes; [q], [g], [k], [d3] and [?] in present-day spoken Arabic. Arab linguists (e.g. Abdo 1969; Abdel-Jawad 1981) have frequently used (Q) with its various reflexes as a parameter for drawing lines between the different dialects of Arabic (Al Khatib, 1988).

Blanc (1964) states that (Q) has undergone several changes. Some of these are related to the group of dialects described by Blanc as *geltu*-dialects (the dialects characteristic of Bedouin people) and others to the group of dialects described as *qeltu*-dialects (the dialects related to urban and rural regions, which constitute the sedentary Arab population). In Bedouin or semi-Bedouin dialects (the dialects of people who do not live a fully Bedouin life, among whom are the people of Karak district), of Southern Iraq and the Jordanian and Syrian deserts, (Q) is realised as [g] (Abdel Jawad,1981; Kanakri, 1988; Irshied, 1984). In other Bedouin dialects further changes took place leading to the realisation of the front allophones of /g/ as [3] or [d3] (Abdel-Jawad 1981; Kanakri 1988; Al Khatib 1988).

With regard to the sedentary dialects, sound change took place in two directions: in some rural dialects (among which are the dialects spoken in central Palestine), (Q) is realised as [k], while in the dialects of the urban centres (such as Damascus and Jerusalem), (Q) is realised as [?].

In Jordan, according to Al-Wer, the variant [g] is characteristic of the local indigenous variety, while [?] is a characteristic of urban Palestinian and urban Levantine varieties in general (Al-Wer, 1999: 25). In another context Al-Wer states that "The variant [g] is a stereotype, used as a marker of local identity; it is also used as a label for Jordanian dialects" (Al-Wer, 2000: 33).

Daher explains the recent re-emergence of [q] in the spoken dialects by saying that because "[q] is such a distinctive sound, its absence from the dialect resulted in its coming to symbolise, par excellence, spoken SA" (Daher, 1998: 196). With the growth of mass communication and education in the present century, the exposure of the average speaker to SA has increased dramatically. Because of its association with SA, [q] is now used by many speakers, in an otherwise dialectal situation, as a convenient device to make their speech sound more 'elevated'" (Daher, 1998: 196). Thus, it is not surprising that Abdel-Jawad finds that "In Amman, for all social classes, men favoured the use of the *qaf* prestige form . . . [and] this pattern was replicated in Nablus" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981, 1987; cited in Labov, 2001: 270).

According to Daher (1998), the primary route by which [q] has reached DA (Damascus Arabic) is the direct borrowing of many SA lexical items by DA. Recent borrowings from SA into DA retain their specialised meanings and their SA phonology: (Q) remains realized as [q]. As these lexical borrowings lose their novelty, they gain wider acceptance and begin to be used more frequently in different contexts, with a corresponding expansion of meaning.

In Karak, one can frequently hear four of the five variants of the variable (Q): [q], [g], [k] and [?]. Each of these variants is considered the key feature of the dialect in which it is used. As [k] symbolises non-local identity it becomes stigmatized. Al-Wer states that because political power initially became concentrated in the hands of the indigenous population, the local linguistic features, among which is the variant [g] of the variable (Q), became a symbol of power (Al-Wer, 2000). In another context Al-Wer states that "In Jordan, as well as in many other Arabic speaking countries, variants of (Q) are used as labels to identify dialects; speakers are stereotyped as belonging to one or another ethnic group depending on which variant of (Q) they use . . ." (Al-Wer, 1997: 33).

Following Labov (1972b), a useful distinction can sometimes be made between *indicators*, which are variants to which little or no social significance is attached, and may indeed only be perceived by observers with linguistic training; *markers*, which are readily perceived and do have social significance; and *stereotypes,* which are popular and conscious but imprecise general characterizations of the speech forms of particular social groups. Under these definitions, the (Q) variable is a stereotype.

The variant [q] is the SA variant while the three variant [?], [g], and [k] are considered colloquial. Indeed, the [g] variant is considered the key feature of KAD, the [k] variant the key feature of FAD, and the [?] variant the key feature of UAD.

3.1 The [k] variant

This section includes five subsections. In subsection 3.1.1 we introduce the [k] variant. In subsection 3.1.2 we give background information about the [k] variant. In subsection 3.1.3 we discuss the male preservers of the [k] variant. In subsection 3.1.4 we discuss the female preservers of the [k] variant and in subsection 3.1.5 we consider the distribution of the [k] variant by sex and age.

3.1.1 Introducing the [k] variant

As we have just seen, four major variants of (Q) can be heard in Karak: [ʔ], [g], [k], and [q]. The variant [k] is stereotypically used by the rural Palestinian groups (Abdel Jawad, 1981, 1986; Shahin, 1996). It is the typical variant of the group under investigation, as its members emigrated from rural Palestinian areas where this variant was used. Nevertheless, the study shows that the majority of the members of this group have abandoned [k] in favour of [ʔ] and [g], and it is avoided especially in interdialectal contexts. This is not surprising. According to Myers-Scotton, "First language attrition among adults often happens among immigrants when they join a community where another language is sociolinguistically dominant and the speaker become bilingual in this language. Of course, under such circumstances, language shift by the second generation often occurs" (Myers-Scotton, 1997: 225).

The fact that [k] is stereotypically considered a rural variant also helped in its disappearance from the speech of the majority of this group especially among young people. Blanc (1964), Abdel Jawad (1987), and Al Wer (1991) state that variants perceived as rural are frequently abandoned in favour of others (such as [ʔ]) which are perceived as urban. The fact that [k] is the variant of the minority who are less powerful than the local group has also had an influence on this process.

3.1.2 The [k] preservers

The members of this group who retain frequent use of this variant except in very limited cases where a shift to [q] or [g] took place will be called [k]-preservers. These people are not affected by the powerful local variant [g] or by the newly spread urban variant [?] (Al-Wer, 1991).

Speakers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 23, 30, 37, 36, 38, 39, 44 and 47 are [k]-preservers. Thus, 20 (42%) of the informants are [k]-preservers and used the variant [k] throughout the interview except in very limited cases where a shift to [q] or [g] took place. 8 (45%) of the [k] preservers are females. 12 (60%) belong to the old age group and only 1 (5%) belongs to the young age group.

Table 3.1

Speaker	[k]		[g]		[q]		[ʔ]	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	38	97.4	0	0	1	2.6	0	0
2	23	76.6	0	0	8	23.4	0	0
3	25	89.2	0	0	3	10.8	0	0
4	40	97.5	1	2.5	0	0	0	0
6	34	85	0	0	6	15	0	0
8	40	86.9	5	11	1	2.1	0	0
9	29	85.2	5	14.8	0	0	0	0
10	22	81.4	0	0	5	18.6	0	0
11	26	81.2	0	0	6	18.8	0	0
12	20	68.9	1	3.5	8	27.6	0	0
14	37	88	2	4.8	3	7.2	0	0
16	35	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	36	80	8	17.8	1	2.2	0	0
30	39	92.8	0	0	3	7.2	0	0
37	47	81	10	17.2	1	1.8	0	0
36	17	80.9	0	0	4	19.1	0	0
38	33	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	20	80	2	8	3	12	0	0
44	30	73.1	2	4.9	9	22	0	0
47	34	100	0	0	0	0	0	0

In order to provide a full account, the speakers who preserved the [k] variant will be discussed as individual cases first and then as a group because "even though most

choices reflect some societal pattern, speakers make linguistic choices as individuals. That is, choices ultimately lie with the individual and are rationally based" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 1). "Labovian-style variationist sociolinguistics - studying the language use patterns of speakers as members of groups - [has demonstrated] that there are indeed predictable macro-patterns and a hierarchy among the social identity factors associated with variation in the patterns" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 5). "A social factors model can provide general outlines to account for the majority of choices, it can not explain all the choices" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 5). A Labovian paradigm will remain our essential tool in this study because one of the limitations of the RC (rational code) framework as a model of linguistic choices is that it "allow us to explain, but not to predict [and it] does not necessarily produce quantitative evidence" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 24). Myers–Scotton and Bolonyal state that Rational Choice theory (RC) is :

> A model based on assumptions of preference and intentions, operating on perceived opportunities. The claim developed here is that the engine driving linguistic code choices is rationality, a mechanism universally available to humans.speakers are rational in the sense that their choices depend largely on assessments of possible options in terms of a cost-benefit analyssis that takes account of their own subjective motivations and their objective opportunities (Myers–Scotton and Bolonyal 2001: 5)

We will illustrate the speakers whose background we noticed plays a direct role in the forms they use.

3.1.3 Male Preservers

Speaker 1 is 71 years old. He used the non local variant [k] in 97.4% of the total number of occurrences of the (Q) variable in his speech. The local variant [g] did not appear in his speech (0%) and the [q] variant appeared only marginally (2.6%). People of this age are to be respected socially at all levels. Part of this respect could be reflected in accommodating one's speech to theirs irrespective of any other factors. In other words, they do not find themselves in a situation where they have to change their way of speaking.

Being of this age may also give such speakers an excuse for not conforming to the local norms of speech; they grew up speaking this way and they are too old to change their speech habits. Le Page (1997) notes that an individual's tendency toward language shift could be constrained by four factors, among which is age. According to Page, "Individuals create their linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the group or groups they wish from time to time to be identified with, or so as to distinguish themselves from those they wish to distance themselves from. Their success in doing so is subject to constraints ... [such as] the strength of their motivation, which is likely to be multidimensional; and their ability to change their behaviour - possibly mainly a function of age" (Le Page, 1997: 28-29). Accordingly, this speaker, whose age is 71, only once used any other variant of the (Q) variable, this being the variant [q] with the word /alŠarq/ 'East'. Even in this case the speaker, apparently, did not aim to appear as a SA user. Speakers when pronouncing the word /alŠarq/ in a context where it collocates with the word /alawSaT/ 'the Middle', usually pronounce it with the SA variant [q]. This is because the term /alawSaT/ 'the Middle' is SA and this seems to affect the way the preceding word is to be pronounced. In addition the term /alŠarq/ 'East' is frequently related to the word alawSaT 'the Middle' in the media, as a political issue which takes up a considerable space in the daily news. Consequently, the native speaker does not make a

conscious choice to use Standard Arabic, or to abandon his own dialect in this instance, but rather it has become almost automatic as a result of hearing it spoken this way in the media and elsewhere.

This speaker, who has reached the age of retirement, is not also very interested in the social meaning that the variant [g] can convey, namely, Jordanian identity. According to Al–Wer, "the [g] variant is used to symbolize a Jordanian as opposed to Palestinian identity by the indigenous Jordanian population. The Jordanian identity is believed to achieve better political status" (Al-Wer, 1999: 29). Due to his age and social status (he formerly worked as a guard in the Ministry of Public Labour), this speaker has no such political ambitions and, thus, he reacts less strongly to the linguistic norm, which may push in this direction.

Speaker 37 is also a [k]-preserver. He is 70 years old. He used the [k] variant in 81% of the total number of the occurrences of the variable (Q). The local variant [g] is used in 17.2% and the [q] variant 1.8%. He has worked as a salesman in his own shop since his arrival in the area. It is normal for people who work within a government company or organisation in Jordan to use the local variant [g] so as to appear local, since this will increase their chances of advancing through the company ranks. This variant may not necessarily be the variant used in the dialect which they have been brought up with in their own native regions, but they adopt it as a means of competing, as a necessity. It is a way of integrating themselves into the locus. By comparison, a mature man like speaker 37 who has lived in his local area and has run his own business throughout his life has not had to use any dialect other than his own. He has been accountable to himself, and to use another dialect would be redundant. In addition, at his age, he feels no need to use the way he speaks to help him to make particular "political" advances in his life; nor is there any pressure for him to do so, since it is the norm for mature members of his society to speak in their native dialect. But, sometimes, the motive for such

accommodation can be something else; showing respect, using certain words with a variant other than one's own, especially in certain contexts related to the nature of one's job. The [g] variant can also sometimes be used as a result of hearing some words for the first time with the variant [g], such as the local word /madraga/ 'a traditional item of women's clothing in Karak', as happens with speaker 9. Indeed, speaker 37 not only did he use the [g] variant with his customers but also with us. We believe that the motive of speaker 37 in accommodating with us was to show respect while with the customers, use of [g] was the result of getting used to using certain words with the [g] variant because of their frequent use of them through the process of buying and selling. Thus, they were related to items like /gaban/ 'platform', /girŠ/ 'amount of money equal roughly to ten pence' and /agall/ 'less', each of which has something to do with the purchasing process.

Speaker 37 also used some other words with the variant [g]. These words are /ilHigt/ 'I lived through the time of' in /ana ilHigit ilmadrasah il9aadiyyah/ 'I lived through the time of normal school', and /ilHaguuh/ 'follow him', in the sentence /ilHaguuh hoonaak jiib waaHdah min hoonaak/ 'follow him there and bring one (talking about one of his products found in the store) from there'. Notice that this same word, /ilHag-/ occurring as /ilHigit/ in the first example and as /ilHagu/ in the second, has two different meanings. The first usage here is metaphorical. The speaker means that when he was young there were modern schools, as the people who were slightly older than him studied in Palestine in so-called /kataatiib/ 'traditional school'. The second usage /ilHagu/ literally means, 'follow him'. Both were used with the [g] variant. The same speaker also said /wagit/ 'time' in the sentence: /baraHHib bik bikull wagit/ 'I welcome you any time'. The third word is /ittiffaag/, 'agrement', in the sentence /fi il9aTwah ysiir fi ittifaag 9ala ilTarafeen/ 'In the 9aTwah [the name of an agreement] the two parties agreed upon something'. We notice that the word /ittifaag/ is used with the variant [g]. We notice also that it is connected to the word /9aTwah/ which is a very local word and is part of the

local society's culture and customs. It seems that under the effect of this, speaker 37 pronounced this particular word in this particular context with the variant [g]. In this case we can say that the subject uses a word from the culture into which he has migrated /9aTwah/ to fulfil a function for which there is no comparable term in his own dialect. The use of this term may have resulted in his pronunciation of the subsequent words with the local variant.

Speaker 37 also used the variant [g] in the word [wagit] 'time'. Notice here that this word is used in the sentence /baraHHib biik bi kull wagit/ 'I welcome you every time' which he used to welcome us. In other words, part of this welcoming was also using our own variant (accommodating) instead of his. In our case, he seems to use this switch as a strategy to create a warm and friendly atmosphere between us. According to Giles, convergence to another's dialect can lead persons to attribute to the converge the traits of friendship and warmth (Giles et al, 1979). Thus, the situation shows that hospitality plays a part in increasing a speaker's accommodation to his audience's linguistic norms and that the subject showed his hospitality toward the interviewer in both the phrase he used and his pronunciation of that phrase. Notice also that he used [g] with one of his customers in /agall min girŠ ya ibn ilnaas/ 'it is less than a pence, you human being'. Clearly he accommodated with his customers through using the local variant [g]. When he again continued talking to us, he shifted to the [k] variant. He said / kiif bidna infahhmu innu *ilsuuk* a*wkaat* bitHarrak *wawkaat biwakkif*/ 'How we can make him understand that the market sometimes moves and sometimes stops?' Notice that in this sentence there are four words, each of which is pronounced with the variant [k]. Recall also that the first word he used with [g] was also with a customer: / ilHagu/ 'follow him'. In other words, we notice that in the very few cases where this speaker accommodated to [g] he aimed to achieve something; with us to emphasise welcoming, with the customer to accommodate his speech in addition to the fact that some of the words used in his speech

with the variant [g] are known to be repeated very frequently in the market and are part of the nature of his job as a salesman. Thus, he used these words with the [g] variant: /girŠ/'money, /gaban/ 'platform', /agall/ 'less'. Notice also that in both his elaborated and casual speech with us he used [k] the most. Most of the [g] variants came at the beginning of the interview. Knowing that we are [g] users, it becomes clear that he did this in an attempt to accommodate with us. Notice also that the first four words including the variable (Q) were said with the variant [g]. This proves that at the beginning of the interview he was concerned to show us much respect and it seems that his accommodating his speech to ours was part of that hospitality. But it should be borne in mind that this shift is used as an exploratory strategy regarding the possible nature of our relationship. According to Heller, code-switching can be used as "an exploratory strategy . . . which permits interlocutors to discover to what degree they share understandings about the situation and their roles in it. . . . this exploration permits them to establish a shared framework, and code-switching can then become an index of that framework" (Heller, 1988:4). It is also possible that the speaker used this shift from [k] to [g] and from [g] to [k] as "a reminder to the addressee that the speaker has the multiple identities associated with each of the linguistic varieties involved" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 7). As Mesthrie states "Language is not just denotational, a term which refers to the process of conveying meaning, referring to ideas, events or entities that exist outside language. While using language primarily for this function, a speaker will inevitably give off signals concerning his or her social and personal background. Language is accordingly said to be indexical of one's social class, status, region of origin, gender, age group and so on" (Mesthrie, 2000: 6). As such, his switches are "parts of a consistent, goal-directed strategy that ends up requiring much switching" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 20).

Speaker 8 also showed that he is a [k]-preserver. He used the [k] in 86.9%. The local variant [g] is used in 11% and the [q] variant 2.1%. He is 70 years old and studied

for seven years in school. This speaker used the variant [g] five times. The first word in which he used this variant is /gawad/ 'pimp'. This word is used as a swear word and is considered a taboo word in the local community of Karak. It seems that this speaker used it this way as he works in a shop in the centre of the marketplace. The second word is /lingliiz/ 'English people'. Here it seems that [g] is used because /ingliiiz/ is a borrowed word which is learned with this variant. This speaker used to use this word in this form to describe the English soldiers during his time in Palestine. Hudson notes that "whereas code-switching and code-mixing involved mixing languages in speech, borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because an item is borrowed from one language to become part of the other language" (Hudson, 1996: 55). Accordingly, what speaker 8 did with regard to the word /ingliiz/ was not code shifting or even mixing to accommodate but borrowing, something which the speaker has no control over, as borrowing takes place as a result of "mixing the systems of languages in speech" (Hudson, 1996) due to the unavailability of this word in the borrowing variety. Furthermore, the motivation of this speaker was not related to ambition to achieve a better political position through emphasising locality by using the [g] due to the limited number of times he used it and the fact that he has an independent status socially.

This speaker also used the variant [q] once in his speech, in the word /muqaawamah/ 'resistance'. This word denotes a political concept and it is typical of the media in which SA is used. This speaker presented it as it is always heard in the media. Actually, he was talking about the resistance in Palestine, a topic which is frequent in the Middle East media. This speaker in fact had seven years of formal education in Palestine. This period of education is necessary as SA is normally only attainable through education. Relatively speaking this length of time represents an advanced stage of education at that time.

Speaker 44 also used the [k] variant throughout most of the interview. This speaker is 64 years old and worked as a teacher most of his life. This speaker in addition used the [q] variant 9 times in his speech – something which can be attributed to his high level of education while he used the non-local variant [k] 30 times, 73.1% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Q). He used the local variant only twice (4.9%) and the [q] 22%. We believe that his age, which puts social pressure on him not to abandon his native dialect, and his level of education, which enables him to use the SA variant [q], are responsible for the low use of the variant [g] in his speech. Notice also that most of the words in which he uses the [q] rather than the [k] variant are typically perceived as SA items. So, the fact that these words are more-or-less lexically conditioned is the reason for not using them with the non-local variant [k], which predominates in his speech. It is also worth mentioning that as our study's major concern is the Fallahi group's speech and the linguistic variation, and possibly change, in the speech of the members of this group as a result of dialect contact between their own dialect and that of the Karakis', we cannot be absolutely sure that these words are always used with the [q] variant, in other words, that they are lexically conditioned. This would, as Al-Wer (1991) noted, "require a different research methodology involving elicitation of particular lexical items" (Al-Wer, 1991: 107), which is not part of the aim of the current study. The words in question include /θaqaafah/ 'culture', /bniqra9/ 'we ring':

3.1

S44: /Hayaatna *iθθaqaafiyyih* bilHaDiiD. Ya axi iTTullaab *bikruuŠ*/

'Our cultural life is at its lowest level. My brother the

students do not study'

S44:/kunna *bniqra9* ijjaras 9asab9ah/

'We used to *ring* the bell at seven'

RE: wma kaan fi ta?xiir/

'And there was no being late'

S44:/*Saddikni* ma kaan fi. wallah 9a?ayyaamna kaan itta9liim

wila balaaŠ/

'*Believe me* there was not. I swear to God the real education was

only in our time'

We do not expect a person of his level of education who spent his life working as a teacher to pronounce the word */bniqra9/* 'we ring' or */θaqaafah/* 'culture' as */bnigra9/* 'we ring' or /θ*agaafah/* 'culture' because this would sound like an exaggerated attempt to appear uneducated. So, this speaker preserves the [k] variant most of the time. Due to his level of education and the nature of his job he tends to use the [q] variant especially with words known to be technical or educated.

3.1.4 Females preservers

Eight female speakers (3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 16, 38 and 30) are [k]-preservers. The [q] variant and the [g] variant are used infrequently by all of the female speakers. We believe that the low level of education of the old females is responsible for the low rate of use of [q] among them. In addition to the factor of age we believe that their being housewives also has played a role in their preserving the [k] variant in that their social contacts within the community are limited or distant. Some of the [k]-preservers are young or middle-aged (speaker 9 is classified as young and speaker 38 as middle-aged). Sidnell also finds in his study of Indo-Guyanese that "in the village there is a generally held belief that women should spend more time than men at home; and in many ways their movement is restricted . . . women must be careful both in how they move through the community (who they interact with, etc.) and in how they talk - both concerns that emanate from a common community-based construction of gender roles" (Sidnell, 1999: 394). Mazraani also states that "Bakir's case study shows that in the southern Iraqi city of Basrah, men, because of their wider social network, can use non-standard and standard forms, whereas women, being restricted to domestic chores and each others' company, have a narrower social network and do not have the opportunity or need to use the standard forms" (Mazraani, 1997: 3). In Jordanian society, females in general and old women in particular are not involved in political affairs. This means that the important social meaning of the [g] variant as the variant of the politically strong group is not significant for them. This also agrees with Labov's view: "It appears that where women have not traditionally played a major role in public life, cultural expectations will lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture" (Labov, 1982: 79).

This analysis is supported by the fact that all of the male speakers of the same age used at least one or two words with the variant [g] in their speech. These men are known

to have contacts outside their houses through their jobs. Speaker 37 and speaker 1 discussed above are cases in point.

The importance of illiteracy among women in terms of their using the variant [k] throughout the interview is shown up by the fact that men of the same age used the variant [q] in at least one case. Thus, apart from speakers 3, 10 and 30 who are educated and used some words with the variant [q], many of the women did not use a single word with the [q] variant, for example speakers 38, 4, 9 and 16. In fact, in several communities, sociolinguistic results (Abdel Jawad, 1981, Bakir, 1986, Schmidt, 1974) show that women use fewer Standard Arabic words than men (Chambers, 1995). We notice that all of these men have been given some chance to attend school for a reasonable period of time and, thus, they were given the chance to be taught SA. According to Hudson, "Standard Arabic is taught in schools in the way that foreign languages are taught in English-speaking societies" (Hudson, 1996: 50). None of the women, who are all illiterate, use the [q] variant; rather they use the [k] variant without shifting at all to the [g] variant or the [q] variant.

Speaker 4 is a housewife. She is 65 years old and uneducated. She used [k] consistently throughout the interview. She uses the [k] variant in 97.5%, the [g] 2.5%, the [?] 0% and the [q] 0% This speaker also pronounced some words which are known and pronounced by most speakers with the variant [q] with the variant [k]. This shows that an important factor in pronouncing some words with [q] is not only their being known as Standard Arabic but also the ability and the readiness of the speaker to use [q] itself - in which case, of course, obtaining some education in school is a normal prerequisite to this ability and readiness. Notice the word /manTiqah/ 'region' is pronounced by all the literate [k]-preservers whose speech includes it with the [q] variant. However, speaker 4 used it with the variant [k] in a response to a direct question raised by us which has this variant [q].

3.2

RE: */wibmanTiqah* waaHdah?/

'And in the same *area'*

S4: /aah nafs *ilmanTika* ysharu fiiha/

'Yes, in the same *area* they spend the nights'

This means that even the strategy of accommodation has no chance to trigger the use of [q] in cases where the speaker is not able to use it due to lack of education.

Speaker 16 is a housewife, aged 63. She also used the [k] variant consistently throughout the interview. Her being illiterate explains the non-occurrence of [q] in her speech. It also suggests that the [g] variant will not be found in her speech since she does not find herself in a situation where accommodating becomes necessary or useful - as when working in the market place where one has to deal with a huge number of customers who have the local variant [g], or when working somewhere where one's being local or not is to a great extent relevant to one's ability to advance in one's career.

Speaker 9 is 35 years old. She is the only speaker of this age group who preserves the non-local variant [k]. She uses the [k] variant in 85.2%, the [g] 14.8%, the [?] 0% and the [q] 0%. This speaker is uneducated. She spent her early life working with her parents, who are also illiterate, in agriculture. Her parents are over 70 years old and are [k]-preservers. She then got married to a husband who is also [k]-user and also works in agriculture. Thus, this speaker spent most of her life with people who are [k]-users. In addition, she did not have any chance of contact with people of her age group who use the local variant as she did not have the opportunity to attend a school where she would have had such contacts. Furthermore, her lack of education plays a role in her lack of any awareness of the different variants and the implications that these variants might have. In addition, we do not believe that a woman who lives such a life would be very interested in

the urban variant which is targeted by women due to the prestige of softness associated with it; her time is spent in the fields and in milking the sheep.

3.3

/akuum bi9amali whimmah *ykuumu* bi9amalhim. Marraat
zai ma *tkuul*ka?innah ilbinit miŠ laazim *tuk9ud*. himma
lamma yxallSu *allkat ak9ud* ana walla Hatta aHlib ilġanam.
w9ammi illii kaan...yallah allaah ysaamHah/
'*I do* my work and *they do* their work. Sometimes, you might *say* it is,
as if the girl should not *take a rest*. Then, when they finish gathering, I start
milking the sheep. My uncle who was ... anyway God forgive him.'

The personal circumstances of this speaker make her, unlike all of the other females of her age, a [k]-user. These circumstances are: frequent exposure to the non-local variant, no permanent contact with [g] or [?] users, and above all no awareness or interest in the implications of these other variants.

Speaker 38 is 49 years old. This speaker is also relatively young and was born in Karak. She used the non-local variant throughout the interview. She uses the [k] variant in 100%, the [g] 0%, the [?] 0% and the [q] 0% She is the only speaker who confesses after the end of the interview that her father used to urge her to use the [k] variant and kept saying "this is your origin":

3.4

S38: Dall *ykulilna* aHCu kaa zay ana wumku ma bniHCi

blaadna ġalyah whađ aSilna/

'He kept *saying* to us "speak ka" [use the [k] variant' like me and

your mother talk. Our country is very dear and this is our origin'

RE: w?inti *muqtan9ah* bhaaDa ma kullna 9arab

'And are you *convinced* by this? After all we are all Arabs'

S38: ah bass aSl ilwaaHad lazim yŠarrfah/

'But one must be proud of one's origin'

We notice here how the speaker relates origin to way of speaking. The speaker can only obtain honour in terms of their origin if he or she uses the dialect of his or her origin. So, dialect signifies both place and origin. In other words, identity can only be preserved by preserving the dialect. We also do not believe that this reinforcement on the part of her parents of the use of [k] variant is the only factor which leads this speaker to preserve it. We believe that the fact that she is uneducated deprives her of the opportunity of frequently dealing with peers who use other variants. Her only relations are with some neighbours who are also from the same native village:

(3.5)

/ijiiraan binzuur ba9iDna *awkaat* ilfaraaġ ya9ni ana akθar iŠi

ya9ni Silati bjiiraani min aDaffah ma 9indiiŠ Hada biddaar w9indi

wakit faraaġ/

'We, the neighbours, visit each other in our free *time*. I mean,

most of my relations are with people from the West Bank. I

do not have anybody in the house and I have free *time*'

3.1.5 Distribution of [k] variant by sex and age

Having discussed the speakers individually it is also important to discuss them as groups. Table 3.2 shows the distribution of the [k] variant by sex and age.

Table 3.2: The distribution of [k] variant by sex and age

Sex / Age	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Young	0/267	0	29/221	13.1	29/488	5.9
Middle	110/275	40	36/213	16.9	146/488	29.9
Old	283/331	85.4	219/259	84.5	502/590	85

Note: This table is to be interpreted as follows: where there are two figures separated by a forward slash, the left hand figure indicates the number of occurrences of the variant [k], while the right-hand indicates the total number of occurrences of all variants of the variable (Q). Thus, in the bottom left-hand cell, there are 283 occurrences of the variant [k] out of a total number of 331 occurrences of the variable (Q). Subsequent tables of this type are to be interpreted in the same way.

Table 3.2 shows the use of the [k] variant as a percentage of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Q) in the speech of the different age groups. It reveals that the highest rate of use of the [k] variant is found in the old age group followed by the middle-age group and then the young age group. These rates are 85.4% and 84.5% in the speech of old males and females respectively, 40% and 16.9% in the speech of middle-aged males and females respectively, and 0% in the speech of young male and 13.1% in the speech of young females. The fact that the highest rate of the use of this variant is found in the speech of the old is expected. This is because of the social pressure exerted on the old to use what is perceived as part of tradition. Furthermore, the other alternatives that are available for the old to choose among are rejected for objective reasons. For example, it is not expected that the old will use some variant such as [?] because this is

considered the latest fashion to follow. Neither is it expected of them at this age to use a variant because of the social meaning it has, such as the local variant which presents locality and identity as in the case of the [g] variant, in favour of what they grew up using. They do not feel pressure from the local society to use the local variant and at the same time they do feel pressure from their community to preserve what they grew up using. More importantly they do not have the personal ambition at this age that might allow them to use the local variant to help them achieve social advancement. Thus, the old are the ones who use the [k] variant the most. It is also important to notice that this variant is used by both sexes at a similar rate. It is 85.5% among males and 84.5% among females. The fact that it is only age which has something to do with the use of [k] is proved in that it is only found in the speech of the old. That sex has nothing to do with it is proved in that it is found in the speech of both males and females at a very similar rate.

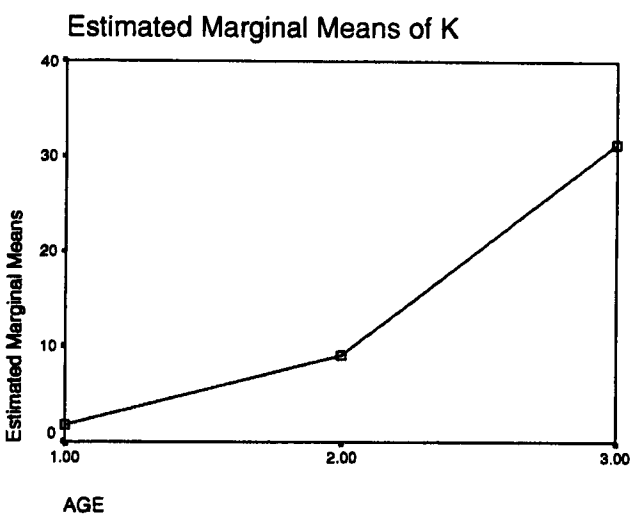
In order to gain a statistically accurate view of the relationship between the use of this variable and the age of the speaker a univariate analysis is employed. For the purpose of using the univariate analysis each group is presented as a number. Groups representing education are given two numbers. The uneducated group is presented as number 1 and the educated group as number 2. The male group is given number 1 and the female group number 2. The young age group is 1, the middle age group is 2, and the old is 3.

SPSS analysis shows that age is highly significant in the use of the [k] variant of the variable (Q). It shows that age has a very powerful effect on the use of the [k] variant and is of very high significance ($p < .05$ level, while $p < .000$ for age with regard to the use of [k]).

Figure 3.1 also displays this pattern of the use of the [k] variant. It shows that there is a general increase in the use of [k] from younger to older and that the peak is

located in the oldest group. There appears to be a clear 'monotonic' relationship between age and the use of the [k] variant. The change in apparent time with regard to the use of this variant is clear enough and reflects a diachronic development in the speech of this group in the Karak speech community.

Figure 3.1



That the lowest rate of the use of [k] is found in the speech of the young is also expected. Young males are at the crucial stage of actualising themselves and removing any obstacles that may stand in the way of their ambitions. Appearing as non-local through using the non-local variant [k] could be one of the most serious obstacles in this way. Its rurality is also enough to make it absent in the speech of young women. Thus, "the cause of the shame" (Bonner, 2001: 86) for girls in using this variant is not attributed to their native dialect per se, but rather to the connotation attached to this variant as rural (Ammayyirih, 2000).

With regard to the middle-age group, all those who appear in the middle-age group as users of both [k] and [g] were found through the individual analysis of the cases to be among those who came to the area while they were above five years old (speakers

18 and 23; both are 57 and immigrated in 1948). In other words, they came to the area already having learned to use the [k] variant. The reason for this is that this group's identity in this area can be understood in a different way. For these people the maintenance of their identity is desired in opposition to another identity found in another area, namely, the Israeli identity - the main cause of this group's tragedy. Thus, the perception of the identity-language relation extends, albeit indirectly, from one language to another (Arabic to Hebrew), rather than simply from one Arabic dialect to another (Fallahi dialect to Karaki dialect, for example). In other words, the evidence presents what at first blush seems to be an unusual state of affairs. Unlike relations between other immigrant groups and their hosts, there is no evidence of the second-generation using their family's original dialect. The usual reason why this occurs, namely the desire to fortify a sense of identity amongst the children of those original immigrants, seems not to apply. Why not? We postulate that the second generation of immigrants has experienced none of the typical disapproval in using the host dialect or approval in using their original Palestinian dialect indexed by the use of the [g] variant or the [k] variant respectively. The cause, in turn, of this absence of linguistic 'nurturing', can be put down to the fact that there exists no opposition between the old and new identities and their respective dialects. The opposition to the historical identity of this group is the Israeli identity. The Jordanian dialect stands to the Palestinian as a 'friend' – one that shares the same wider opposition to Hebrew (as the language of the main factor of Israeli opposition to this identity) – and as such is not regarded as something to be resisted as impinging upon its historical identity. This explanation can be used also to understand the adoption of the urban dialect by Palestinians living on the West Bank. Again there exists no typical opposition to an 'invader', for in the wider context, sympathies between the sources of the dialects are closer than relations between other dialects. The abandonment of the original dialect has no broader implications – it is simply the adoption of one Arabic (and

therefore, acceptable) dialect over another. Thus, the readiness of the members of this group to adopt the [g] variant is a result of the feeling that while this helps to achieve something at the local level it does not overstep the boundaries of identity. The competition between the Fallahis and the Karakis in Karak does not go beyond the form of competition found between two groups who belong to the same origin over the normal affairs of daily life. Indeed, the abandonment of some rural Palestinian variants in the West Bank itself has been reported by some studies (for example Abdel Jawad, 1986) in favour of other urban variants used in certain cities of the West Bank.

3.2 The [g] variant

This section includes three subsections. In 3.2.1 we will talk about accommodation to [g]. we will discuss [g] adopters in section 3.2.1, and in section.3.2.3 we will discuss the speakers as a group with regard to the use of the [g] variant.

3.2.1 Accommodation to [g]

Speakers 18, 25, and 43 accommodated regularly to [g] throughout the interview. Thus, 6% of the speakers showed accommodation to [g]. We will deal with these speakers first as individuals to see why accommodation might occur then with all of the speakers as a group:

Table 3.3

Speakers	[k]		[g]		[?]		[q]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
18	17/36	47.2	13/36	36	0/36	0	6/36	16.6
25	14/30	46.7	9/30	30	0/30	0	7/30	23.3
43	17/34	50	10/34	29.4	0/34	0	7/34	20.5

Speaker 18 owns one of the largest companies in the area and as a result is very important within the local community. He has become a sheikh (one of the chiefs of his tribe) in the area. As a result, he has to interact socially with the local residents, the Karakis, and the immigrant group to which he belongs, the Fallahis, and to participate in the public as well as the private gatherings of both groups. He uses the powerful local variant [g] in order to maintain good social relations and be able to participate in public affairs as one of the key members of the Karak local society, as his position requires. According to Hudson, "it could be that we use pronunciation in order to identify our origins or to imply that we originated from some group, whether we really did or not" (Hudson, 1996: 23). However, he is still respected within his own group, and by using their variant [k] he is to a large extent trusted and can remain effective within this circle as well. According to Abu-Melhim, speakers "chose to diverge; that is, to converse in their own local dialects, in order to preserve group identity . . ." (Abu-Melhim, 1991: 249). Woolard also notes that "language behaviour in certain communities reflects not merely the absence of official pressure, but the presence of competing community pressure" (Woolard, 1985; cited in Moore, 2002: 2). Thus, while the variant [k] is the marked variant among the Karakis, for this speaker the variant [g] is the marked one among his people, the Fallahis.

Speaker 25, who works as the Deputy Dean of the local community college, varies between [k] and the local [g]. He used [g] in 30% of the total occurrences of the variable (Q).

3.6

/ b9Tuuni il9ilaaj *lil9arag*. ya9ni kull fatrah kull saa9ah *bti9rag*/

'They give me the medicine for *perspiration*. Every time

every hour I *perspire*.'

/kunnaa nruuH *wnug9ud* niTla9 9ala liCruum *winkaTTi9 fakkuus*

waxuDraawat θaanyiih ya9ni kaanat 9iiŠih haniyyih/

'*We used* to go to the fields and *gather cucumber* and

other vegetables. It was a healthy life.'

This speaker uses the powerful local variant [g] to enhance his ability to maintain his professional position, since there is much competition for his job and appearing local gives him an edge over potential rivals. According to Hudson (1996) individual speakers choose among the available variants of all the available variables in order to locate themselves in a highly complex multi-dimensional social space such as the local-non-local dimension. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal state that "Speakers are rational in the sense that their choices depend largely on assessments of possible options in terms of a cost-benefit analysis that takes account of their own subjective motivations and their objective opportunities. That is, rationality means cognitively based calculations" (Myers-Scotton, and Bolonyal, 2001: 5). Moore also notes that "variants supralocalize to accommodate the demands of alternative linguistic markets" (Moore, 2002: 1).

This speaker also uses Standard Arabic as it makes him appear more academically knowledgeable, since it is known to be only ever learnt after a long period of school and

university education. He thus enhances the sense that he is competent to be Deputy Dean. In short, for him, each variant has a social function which no other variant could fulfil.

Speaker 43 works as the imam of a mosque, which is a paid post, open to Diploma or BA holders in Jordan. He varies between the three variants [k], [g], and [q]. The use of [q] in his speech is not surprising as he obtained his certificate from the Department of Religion where SA is frequently used and where the Qur'an is a major area of study. Thus he was exposed to SA during his study. He also uses it in his current work as the imam of a mosque. As a religious sheikh, he is also affected by the social meaning that the variant [g] can convey. As a sheikh, it is important for him to accommodate to the local people's dialect and establish good social relations with them. The appearance of [k] in his speech can be interpreted on these grounds, as some of those who might come to the mosque to hear from him are Fallahis.

(3.7)

/ma9 innuh ijaami9i muhayya? innu ystalim manSib

wi dibloom ma ilu ay ta?θiir fi ilmujtama9.

ita9yiinaat *mawkuufih* niŠif *riigi* wama biddi at9ayyan/

'Although the university graduate is qualified to occupy

a position, those who have a diploma do not have any

influence in society. The appointments *are stopped*

and my *spittle* has dried up [I have done my best]. I do not want

be appointed.'

We notice that speaker 43 uses the variant [k] with /mawkuufih/ 'are stopped' and the variant [g] in / riigi/ 'spittle' in the same sentence.

We also believe that the fact that men have more contact in the Karak society with the outside world than women is the major reason for finding that those who are [g] adopters are males. This is because males' contact with others must necessitate following and adopting some linguistic strategies such as accommodation to others' speech. This does not mean that women do not have such contact, but it is less extensive. Indeed, the fact that women have less contact with the outside world in the Arab world than men is reported in many studies (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; Al–Wer, 1991). It is also important to note that the social role expected of the two sexes and possible for them in Karak society is a crucial factor in making differences in interpreting why the two sexes behave slightly differently linguistically. For example, Fallahi men are given the chance to take part in some important local activities such as becoming a member of the local council or being the dean of a big local institute, where accommodating to the local norm of speech is normally important, while Fallahi women, like other women in the area, are still far from being involved in such positions. That is to say, men are more subject because of these and similar possible roles to accommodate to other dialects.

3.2.2 [g]-adopters

We notice that the young stereotypically used the local variant [g]. It is the most salient feature which carries the social meaning of locality and "symbolizes Jordanian identity" (Al-Wer, 1991: 75). It is not uncommon for Fallahis to adopt the local variant "as dialects symbolise . . . local cultures, and help to maintain and defend them" (Trudgill, 2002: 29). None of the young Fallahis use the [k] variant. This is because the variant [g] is the variant of power and they are at an age where competition with other local people over daily affairs, such as job opportunities for which local identity is very important, is at its highest level. In addition, the [k] variant conveys the social meaning of

being non-local, indicating someone who does not belong to any of the major important local groups. This might weaken one's position in social affairs in a society like that of Karak. We should also take into consideration the fact that their being born in the area and their going to the local school, where the vast majority of children are local, enhances the process of these speakers adopting this variant. According to Kroch (1996), "Given the importance of peer group in the transmission of language and the relative insensitivity of young children to class distinctions, these contacts with age mates from other classes could have served as a conduit for local dialect features to enter the speech of the upper class" (Kroch, 1996: 27). Though Kroch was talking about Philadelphia and the dialects of different classes and not groups of different origins, this same argument is also applicable in our case. The children of the Fallahis would not hesitate to acquire and transmit whatever is new from the Karaki children due to the lack of sensitivity of young children to different origins.

According to Milroy and Milroy, "Males appear to favour more localized variants which carry some kind of identity-based social meaning in the local community, whereas females identify more with supra-local variants in speech" (Milroy and Milroy, 1997: 55). Though this is not exactly the case with regard to females in Karak, it is exactly the case with regard to males, and in particular, the young. We believe that some young females use the local variant [g] as a result of certain objective reasons such as living in an area where one is frequently exposed to this variant as the dominant one, the fact that the [k] variant is stereotypically perceived as "a rural Palestinian feature, the use of which is socially stigmatized" (Al–Wer. 1991: 73), and the fact that the urban variant [ʔ] is not widely used in the Karak district.

Speaker 15 is 26 years old. She is educated and works as a teacher. She uses the variant [g] in 64% of the total number of the occurrences of the (Q) variable:

(3.8)

/badfa9 xamsTaŠ *ilgirŠ* lilbaas *wibtistaġriq iTariiq* saa9ah iða Šadd wġiir heek *bnig9udilna* saa9teen zamaan/

'I pay 15 *pence* for the bus and the *journey takes* an hour if the driver drives fast. Otherwise, it takes two hours.'

Notice that this speaker uses the [g] variant with /girŠ/. This word is also seen to be used with this local variant even by some [k]-preservers (e.g. speaker 37). She also uses the variant [g] with the word /bnig9udilna/ 'it takes us'. Notice that the word /btig9ud/ has the same meaning as the word /btistaġriq/ i.e. 'it takes'. However, the speaker used the word /nig9udilna/, which is a colloquial word, with the variant [g], while she used the word /btistaġriq/, which is SA word, with the variant [q]. It seems that the choice of certain terms rather than others that can be used in the same context presupposes the use of a colliquial variant or SA one. For example, when speaker 15 chose to use the word /bitistaġriq/ ' it takes' where she could have used the colloquial /bitug9ud/ 'it takes', she was presumably expected to use the variant [q] because the desire and the tendency to use SA phonology goes along with the choice of the SA lexical item /bitistaġriq/ 'it takes'. Notice that the effect of this choice extended to the other words having the variable (Q) including the word /Tariiq/ 'road', although this same word was used with the variant [g] in other contexts by the same speaker, something which supports this argument. Notice also that the term /bitg9ud/ is used by speaker 13 in /bass lim9allim taba9i *ga9dat* 9amaliyytuh sa9ateen bilmustaŠfah/ 'but my teacher's operation took two hours in the hospital', and by speaker 22 */ga9dat* ilHarakih *waagfih* fi *ilsuug* ba9d il *9agabih* Šu biddi *agullak* lahassah waagfih/ 'the [buying and selling] activity in the market stopped after the Aqaba [free market (was established)] - what I can tell you -

up till now it is [still] stopped'. In all of these cases the colloquial variant [g] is used, rather than the SA variant [q] as the result of choosing a word which is colloquial rather than Standard Arabic. Another example which supports our argument in this regard is taken from speaker 26 who is also a [g] adopter:

(3.9)

S26: /miš miððakkir iši 9an illi Hakatuh ummi. laakin kaanat iddinya iSSubiH issaa9ah θamaanyih. faj?ah wsaaHibti *guddaami/*
'I do not remember anything of what my mother said. But, it was eight o'clock in the morning. Suddenly, while my friend was *in front of me* [...]'

We notice that this speaker uses the word /guddaami/ 'in front of me' with the variant [g] simply because it is a colloquial word. The SA is /amaami/. Thus, as she shows in principle readiness to use a colloquial word, it becomes possible for her to use the local colloquial variant [g]. Notice also that this speaker is one of those who have the highest rate of use of the SA variant. Nevertheless, in a word which is considered colloquial a SA type pronunciation is not possible.

Speaker 27 is 27 years old and has a diploma. We believe that the fact that she obtained her diploma from a local college decreases the value of her education as a means of her having contact with other communities where other dialects might be used. Accordingly, she largely retains the variant [g] as she is not exposed to other variants (such as the urban variant [?]) which she might be affected by as a result of their having some prestige. According to Al-Wer, "the principal significance of the level of education of the speaker . . . is that it indicates the amount of contact a speaker has had with outside communities" (Al -Wer, 1991:52). It is not surprising that she still uses the local variant

[g] though she is young, female and educated. This is because though the variant [g] does not have the prestige as the urban variant [?], as the variant of softness and urbanisation, it is still dominantly used (Al-Wer, 1991, 1999) and is not socially stigmatised like the variant [k].

Only in two cases did speaker 27 use the Standard Arabic variant [q]. These two words are /taqriiban/ 'nearly', and /qaryah/ 'village'. The first is known to be a SA word, and therefore it normally favours the variant [q]. The second, we believe was used with the variant [q] as a result of linguistic accommodation in that it was involved in an answer to my question which used the same word [qaryah] with the variant [q]:

3.10

RE: /inti 9aayŠih fi *ilqaryah* wila fi ilmadiinih/

'Are you living in a city or a village?'

S27: /baladna akbar min *ilqaryih* bass miŠ madiinih/

'Our town is bigger than a village but it is not a city'

Speaker 28 is 23 years old and has a BA degree in Islamic studies. She frequently uses the local variant [g] in her speech. She uses the variant [g] in 76% and the variant [q] in 28% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Q). This speaker shows the highest rate of the use of the SA variant [q] among females of her age-group in her speech. Some of the instances where she used the [g] variant were in answers which directly followed a question from us having the [g] variant. In some cases her answer even contained the same word as used in my question, namely, /galam/ 'pen'. She also used the variant [g] in discussions about her university and the role of the relationships between the local students, i.e. native Karakis, and their teachers who belong to the same tribes. Here the speaker is influenced by the nature of the discussion which is related to the local tribes and the strength of the relationship between the members of each tribe.

This triggers her use of the word /garabtu/ 'his relative', which in this context refers to the relative of a local teacher who must also be local as he belongs to the same clan. Thus she uses this word with the local variant [g]. This same basic word in the plural form is used at the beginning of the discussion with the Standard variant [q] when she is talking about the customs of her family in the religious holiday at the end of Ramadan. She said /ahli ba9deen bizuuru aqaaribna/ 'my family then visit our relatives'. Another use of the variant [g] is with the colloquial word /guddaami/ ' in front of me'. The SA equivalent is /amaami/. This speaker uses the variant which is the most suitable to the context.

This speaker's family circumstances should be also taken into consideration. Her father is highly qualified in that he is an engineer. He is 55 years old. To be an engineer at this age is considered rare. This represents an advanced stage of education in Karak if not throughout the country. Her mother also has a *tawjiihi* (secondary school leaving certificate) though she is 50 years old. They have only one son and one daughter. Such a small family is also rare in our society. As a result, we believe that this speaker was given much attention in her upbringing. Part of this special attention involved helping her choose the most suitable dialect for a girl, taking into account the nature of the local society. She uses the local variant or the variant [q], the only variant that can be neutral and help one appear as an educated person. In addition to her living in an educated family, we believe that her field of study Islamic studies, which requires good knowledge in the Holy Quran, enhances her readiness and ability to use the SA variant [q].

The variant [g], which was once the variant of rural people, has become the variant of the socially and politically dominant group. Its frequent use because of its newly established social meaning is a change from below.

Vernacular in Labov's main formulation means "the most informal speech style used by speakers" (Mesthrie, 2000: 82). The local variant [g] was once part of the

vernacular used by rural people and now it has become a key feature of rural people as well as the politically and financially dominant groups.

In regard of government posts, identity plays a major role in determining the position a person may occupy or even whether he or she has a job at all (see chapter one, section 5). The main motive for young men to use the local variant [g] is the major role that local identity can play with regard to self-actualisation in the society. Moore notes that in his study of the history of English, through the Plumpton letter collection that "variants supralocaize for geographic, social, and economic reasons" (Moore, 2002: 3). Fallahi young men in Karak aim to show that they are not less Jordanian than others, and the variant [g] is the best tool to use for this purpose. The variant [k], by contrast, plays a reverse role if it is used. Thus, taking the principle of cost and reward suggested by Myers-Scotton: "a major motivation for using one variety rather than another as a medium of an interaction is the extent to which this choice minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 100). Accordingly, we find that the local variant [g] is used and the non-local variant [k] is avoided. For example, speaker 5 (who works in the field of construction and is also a member of the local council of one of the villages of Karak district, a non-paid post) states that "we", the Fallahis, adopt the dialect of the Karakis while the Karakis do not adopt our dialect. He says:

3.11

S5: /inti maaxið min ilurduniyyiin hummi ma axaðu minna iSSaHiiH
iHna axaðna minhum. ana ma Šufit waaHid urduni biHki falaStiini
la?innu iHna it?aθθarna fi ilmidrasih fi iŠaari9 fi suug laazim tiHki urduni/
'You took from the Jordanians, but frankly they did not take from us. I never saw a Jordanian who speaks Palestinian because it was us who were affected.

In school, in the street, and in the marketplace you are to speak Jordanian [meaning Karaki dialect]'.

Notice his awareness of the different domains where one is expected to use KAD and where any other dialect is considered a 'marked' code. While this speaker is able to use FAD in his house, where intimacy and solidarity (Brown and Gilman, 1968) are prevalent, he chooses to use KAD elsewhere where further implications of one's origin and identity might be conveyed as a result of one's linguistic choice. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal (2001) note that "choices reflect a goal to enhance interpersonal relations and/or material or psychological rewards, and to minimize costs" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 6). In addition, for speaker 5, who studied at local schools, played in the street of his Karaki village, and is now a member of its local council, not to adopt the most salient feature of the Karaki dialect would be a 'marked' choice. So, in addition to the desire to use the variant that "minimizes costs and maximizes rewards for the speaker" (Myers-Scotton, 1995: 100), we believe that there are also objective factors which make the adoption of this variant highly likely; studying, playing, and finally working with those whose variant is dominant.

Among those who are [g] adopters are also some traders: speakers 20, 21, 22 and 24. Traders are stereotypically said to belong to the Fallahi group and in one way or another being a trader means being Fallahi, as traditionally it is known that the Fallahis preferred to work in the market while the Karakis did not (see chapter 1, section 6). The [k] variant does not appear in the speech of speakers 20, 21, 22 and 24. The variant [q] is also rarely used in their speech simply because appearing to be educated has nothing to do with the nature of their jobs. These four speakers felt that in the market the variant used can indicate not only whether you are originally Karaki or Fallahi, but also the job you hold. Before the political conflict which took place in 1970 between the two groups

this was not a serious issue with any possible implication of loss. Fallahis in particular feel more than others that they are to insist on using the [g] variant to emphasise their being Karakis and, thus, their having the right to dominate the market. In addition, the idea that it is only the Fallahis who dominate the market makes the Fallahis feel that they are envied by the local people and this invites the hostility of others. According to speaker 21, /maŠkilitna bhassuug il9unSuriyyih/ 'our problem in the market is regionalism [our being treated as non-local]'. Speaker 22 states similarly: /Šuu bina inssawwi muDTarriin niHki *gaal*/ 'what can we do; we have to say 'gaal' [i.e.we have to use the [g] variant]'. In addition, many of them identified the major problem they have in the market as regionalism, though our question aimed to ask about the financial conditions of the traders and the customers recently. Other informants indicate how some customers quickly play the regional game when any conflict arises between them, even if it is only over some product. To be strong in the market it is not enough to be a successful trader. It is also necessary to appear fully Jordanian. The [g] variant is the best means to convey this. The [k] variant is to be suppressed and avoided. Similarly, speakers 7, 28 and 32, who have nothing to do with trading and the market, indicate the same feeling simply because they live among the socially dominant groups where the use of [k] is highly stigmatised especially among the young. Speakers 7, 28, and 32 belong to Fallahi clans living among the biggest southern Karaki clan, namely, Al Tarawnih, and speakers 5 and 15 belong to Fallahi clans living among the biggest northern Karaki clan, Al Majaali. For these people to live a socially normal life, they have to integrate with these dominant groups, including in their linguistic behaviour. Consequently, the local powerful variant [g] is adopted and the non-local variant [k] is abandoned. Notice that speaker 33 claims that he adopted the [g] variant because for him it is necessary to accommodate to his Jordanian wife's family's speech. He said:

3.12

S33: /ya9ni ana kawni mitzawwij min urduniyyah fi ilha aθar 9ala *Tariigat* ilkalaam *waTariigat* ita9biir kawn innuh 9udalaa?i winaas illi bat9aamal ma9hum itwassa9/

'The fact that I married a Jordanian has an impact on the *way* I speak and *express my opinions* as my brothers in law and the number of the people I deal with have increased.'

In both cases the [g] variant is used. In the market [g] is necessary to get rid of the stereotype that being a trader means being a non-local Fallahi. In the town it is necessary to integrate with the dominant tribes (and not to clash with them). Speaker 7 indicated that: alHayaah hoon sa?iid 9aliiha il9aŠaa?iriyyah 'life here is dominated by the tribal way of life'.

It is clearly seen that the [g] variant is the vehicle used by its adopters to convey a message which implies that they are not less local than any other group in the Karak district.

Two previous studies (Al–Wer, 1991, 1999) have shown that "there is a correlation between the pressure which is exerted by the social network and the degree of saliency of a variable, the higher the saliency the stronger the pressure" (Al-Wer, 1991: 77). Thus, in these previous studies speakers consistently did not frequently vary between variants of variables which are known to be salient. However, they did vary between variants of variables which are less salient (Al-Wer, 1991: 77). Contrary to previous studies our data shows that the higher the saliency of a variable the more speakers vary between its variants. Our interpretation of this is that while we investigated non-local people in our study, Al-Wer's study was carried out on members of the local female population in three Jordanian cities. The theory of saliency in a native community holds

true in so far as it refers to its own members. When applied to an incoming or immigrant community saliency carries another dimension. This is because for members of the "outside" community the measure of saliency can also be gauged in terms of cost and benefit, but the measure is reversed. The benefits of altering their dialect are higher than those of conforming to it. If an "outsider" uses the local variant at the expense of his or her own, the benefit of doing so can be realised in terms of, for example, opportunities of progression through that particular community or society. So, they gain from not conforming to their own dialect. They will lose out if they conform, and the loss will be greater. For the local speaker, the benefit of adapting or altering their own dialect is not significant. There are no practical benefits in not conforming; the pressure to conform is greater than any gains made within their original community. For the non-local speaker the pressure to adapt their speech is greater. In this sense, the loss incurred in holding onto their own dialect is minimal. The loss incurred in not adopting the dialect of the community they are trying to integrate with can be severe, with far-reaching practical consequences. So, while the costs and benefits for the home community can be measured in terms of esteem and prestige, for the incoming community the costs and benefits are measured in terms of social progression or even one's social status. Hence, the more salient the variable the more it is considered suitable and effective in conveying one's desire to integrate into the local community.

3.2.3 The distribution of the [g] variant by sex and age

Table 3.3 shows that the highest rate of use of the [g] variant is found among young males (89.1%). It also shows that the lowest rate is found among the old. It is 5.2% among old males and 7.5% among old females.

Table 3.4: The distribution of the [g] variant by sex and age

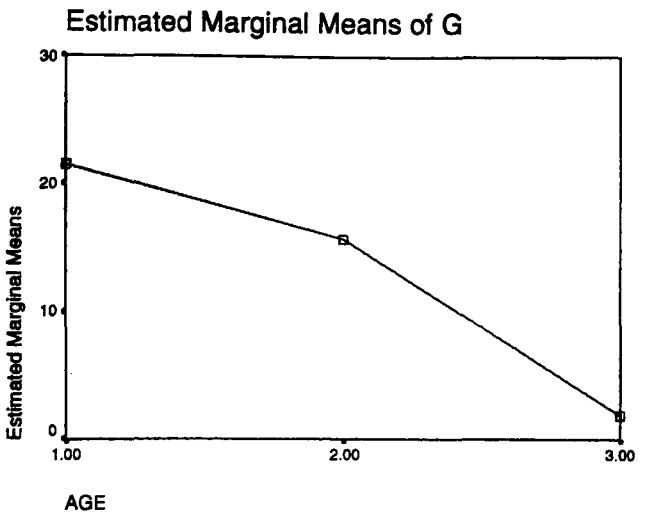
Sex Age	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Young	238/267	89.1	106/221	47.9	344/488	70.4
Middle	129/275	46.9	121/213	56.8	/488	51.2
Old	19/331	5.7	11/259	7.5	30/590	5

We believe that the motive that makes the young abandon the [k] variant is the same that makes them adopt the [g] variant: self-actualisation. As the [k] variant is the obstacle to be removed in that it marks its user as non-local, the [g] variant is the vehicle to be ridden so as to appear local. Young women also are seen to abandon the [k] variant in favour of the [g] variant. The fact is that young women could have abandoned the [k] variant in favour of [?] as even local girls were reported to do so in other studies (see Al-Wer, 1991). However, they did not. This supports our argument that there were no attempts to resist the integration of the [g] variant into the repertoire of the Fallahi youngsters.

SPSS analysis of the relation between age and the use of the [g] variant shows that age is also very significant ($p < .05$ level while $p < .000$ for age).

Figure 3.2 shows that there is a decrease in the use of [g] from younger to older male speakers and that it is regular. The peak is located in the young group.

Figure 3.2



We can also read the differences between the two sexes in a similar way to that of the [k] variant. The [g] variant is used by males for the same reasons which make them abandon the [k] variant, i.e. their being expected socially to be involved in activities which women normally are not involved in in Karak society. Hence, they find themselves in more situations than women where accommodating to the local norm of speech is very important.

3.3 [?]-adopters

This section includes two subsections. In 3.3.1 we will discuss [?] adopters as individuals. In 3.3.2 we will discuss the tables including the distribution of the use of the [?] variant by sex and age.

3.3.1 [?] adopters as individuals

In line with Al-Wer (1991), as far as [?] adopters are concerned, we are satisfied they come from families who use [k] or [g]. Other members of their immediate families were met by the interviewer, and one of them participated in the research. It is assumed,

therefore, that these speakers started using [ʔ] instead of [g] or [k] at some stage in their lives, and that they were in some way motivated to do so (Al-Wer, 1991: 90).

The data of our study show that of all the informants 3 female subjects (6%) show frequent use of the variant [ʔ]. But none of the males does. According to Kroch, "Variation according to gender appears to be universal" (Kroch, 1996: 27). This is because of the different social role expected from the two sexes. According to Milroy, women tend to use the code identified as the code of prestige out of "a desire to acquire social prestige through their speech, as they could not traditionally acquire this through career success as males do" (Milroy, 1987: 55). Milroy adds that "Females tend toward the careful end of the continuum and males toward the casual end. Similarly it can be said that females favour prestige norms and males vernacular norms" (Milroy, 1987: 55). In our study this is not always the case. Women did not show such a desire to use the code of prestige, namely, the urban code of which the variant [ʔ] is the key feature. They did not tend toward the careful end of the continuum, either, in that they did not tend to use SA, defined as the most careful form of speech. For example, Abdel-Jawad's data from Amman show that [ʔ] predominantly occurs in the speech of women" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981; cited in Al-Wer, 1999: 34). According to Trudgill, "Certain sounds hop from one influential urban centre to another, and only later spread outwards to the neighboring rural areas, including the areas between the two centres" (Trudgill, 1983; cited in Mesthrie, 2000: 56). Nevertheless, we can say that a change towards the use of the urban variant [ʔ] has started in the Karak area. This is because while we did not find any case of male informants who used the [ʔ] variant, we start finding cases among females. 13% of the 24 female subjects used the [ʔ] variant.

The speakers who adopt this variant will be discussed as individual cases and then as a group.

Speaker 48 works in the Passport Department in the town. Part of her interview, in particular, where she uses the variant [?] is the following:

3.13

S48: /law tSuum hala?/

'if you fast now'

S48:/hoon bil?urdun ruHt ma *aġra?*. il?aSil innu ilwaaHad ma

yruuH lijuwwa *wyġami?* bima innu miŠ sabbaaHa *hal?adih* kunt/

'Here in Jordan once I nearly *drowned.* In principle one

should not go *deep* in the sea as I was not that *good a swimmer'*

3.14

S48: /inzilit tiHt ilmai wabaTTalit *alaHHi?*. kull ma aji arfa9 raasi trudd tiji moojih taanyih/

'I got under the water and I was unable *to continue* swimming.

Whenever I try to raise my head another wave comes'

We notice that speaker 48 used the [?] variant consistently in the interview. She has a BA degree and in the high school she obtained a high grade which enabled her to obtain a scholarship to study at the university. She was distinguished among her friends and relatives from the very beginning. In order to enhance this feeling as a distinguished female, she adopts the urban variant [?]. Her being distinguished in her study also plays a role in her ability to be an innovator in using the non-local variant of prestige. Amara et al (1999) note that "In the case of the women, however, the attraction of the urban form, especially to the younger educated women, is even stronger, reflecting a tendency already noted in Jordan as well for women's speech to be marked urban (Amara et al, 1999: 77). She also insists that during her time at university she tended to deal with people from the

capital, to learn from them, and to isolate herself from those who belong to her village in Karak, namely Rabba:

3.15

/ana fi jaam9ah ma kaan y9jibni aDall maHsuurah bima9aarfi.
ilwaaHad laazim yt9aamal ma9 naas jdaad yt9allam minhum. Šu
hataxalluf ilwaaHad fi rabbih ma9 *?araaybuh* wbkull
makaan ma9hum/
'At university I did not like being surrounded by my acquaintances.
One should deal with new people from whom one can learn.
What backwardness is this in Rabba? We are with our relatives
and everywhere with them'

This broader network is also believed to reinforce her position as an innovator in linguistic change toward the use of [?] in the Karak district.

Speaker 41 has obtained her BA degree. She used the [?] variant almost exclusively throughout the interview. In only a few cases did she use the [q] variant as she is also well-educated.

3.16

RE: /fi dakaatrah 9indik bit9aamalu *biruqy/*
'Are there university lecturers who treat you *gently*?'
S41: /aah fi minhum *raaqyiin/*
'Yes, some of them are *gentle*'
RE: /balaaHiD innik bitiHki 9arabi fiSiiH/
'I note that you speak Standard Arabic'
S41: /aah marraat aah. uuxaaSSah fi *qismi/*

'Yes. Sometimes yes. Especially in my *department*'

The first use of the variant [q] with the word /ruqy/ 'gentleness' clearly occured as a result of accommodation to my question where we used the variant [q]. The second use, by contrast, might be as a result of 'available evidence' that the use of [q] is positively perceived by us, indicating this speaker's ability to use SA. According to Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, "available evidence is the most fundamental feature of rational action. Evidence is what can be seen or heard. ... as rational actors, speakers collect, pay attention to, and take account of all these sources of available evidence in calculating the possible outcomes of their decisions regarding how to speak" (Myers–Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 22). This principle also makes us believe that the presence of the speaker's mother throughout the interview played a role in making her consistently use the variant [?] as this is the code preferred by her mother.

Speaker 42:

This speaker's father is a businessman who started life as a house painter. After an initial period of poverty he succeeded in becoming a businessman. It seems that in his attempt to get himself as well as all of his family perceived in a different way, he found it essential to give his daughter the chance of adopting the urban variant to reflect a life of prosperity and comfort through reinforcement. Notice also that the presence of her mother and father during the interview makes us claim that the use of [?] by speaker 42 "can be considered deferential" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 20), because UAD is her mother and father's preferred dialect. Appearing prestigious is more important to this family than any other social factor. This is reflected through a desire to make the children use UAD rather than maintaining their customs and ethnic heritage through maintaining the original variant [k]. Filipovic notes, in a similar context, in her study of Croatian

dialects that "In order to maintain Croatian customs and ethnic heritage, it is vital to maintain the original dialect" (Filipovic, 2001: 61). Speaker 42 was also given the opportunity to attend one of the best private schools in the area /midrasit adir/ 'Adir school', where she met many school-mates to whom the variant [ʔ] is the norm. This factor is not enough by itself as this school only covered the primary stage. The persistent reinforcement by the family to keep using the variant [ʔ] should also be considered in this context. The speaker herself said that her mother kept saying: /aHki daayman ʔaal/ 'always say /aal/ [i.e. use the variant [ʔ]'. The school and her mother, who used to speak with her using the variant [ʔ], were the sources of this variant for this speaker. Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal note the importance of knowing "how particular repertoires happen to be available to certain individuals" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001: 13).

While the studies carried out in the major cities of Jordan such as Amman (Abdel-Jawad, 1981) and Irbid (Al Khatib, 1988) show that the urban variant [ʔ] is becoming prestigious for women of all origins, our data show that it is used in very limited cases even among women. Bearing in mind that Karak is a city which is far from Amman it seems that these 'linguistic innovation waves' have not reached Karak the way they have Amman. According to Mesthrie, "The essential belief of wave theories (like Johannes Schmidt in the nineteenth century and C.J Bailey in the twentieth) was that linguistic innovations spread essentially in wavelike fashion" (Mesthrie, 2000: 55). It seems that this notion applies in our study. The urban [ʔ] spread from the major centres such as Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo to the major cities of Jordan such as Amman, Irbid, and Zarqa. From these cities certain sounds such as [ʔ] began to spread outwards to the neighbouring areas, such as Karak.

The three exceptional cases (speakers 41, 42, 48) require more explanation. Given that the facts agree in each case - that the mother came from the local area into which the Palestinians immigrated, the explanation would seem to be connected to this fact. One

interpretation would be that the subjects' closer connection to the area, instigated by the mothers' relation, allowed them to feel less sensitive about their role in the society as immigrants. As such the desire to utilise the specifics of local pronunciation might be felt less. In addition, two of the exceptional cases had BA degrees and had attended a university in which the non-local variant could be found used by those coming from areas where it is prevalent. This again confirms Al-Wer's view that education is an important factor in indicating the amount of contact a speaker might have with outside communities (Al-Wer, 1991).

All three speakers had also experienced their mother's reinforcement of the non-local variant as a means of asserting prestige. On a psychological note, it seems possible only to achieve this effect via the combination of a local mother with an immigrant partner; this gives the power to use the urban dialect without any fear of it being claimed that the speakers are outside the local group. They also used the non-local variant in favour not only of the local variant [g], but also the native variant [k] of the Fallahis. This also shows the power to abandon one's ethnicity; many studies (for example, Filipovic, 2001; Bonner, 2001) show the strong link between one's ethnicity and language. Bonner notes that in southern Belize for many people "diminishing use of the Garifuna language indicates the loss of a vital link to the past" (Bonner, 2001: 85).

3.3.2 Distribution of the [?] variant by sex and age

Table 3.5 shows that the highest rate of occurrence of the [?] variant is found in the speech of the young. It is 23.9%. It is 0% amongst all other age groups. All of those who use the [?] are young females.

Table 3.5: The distribution of the [?] variant by sex and age.

Sex Age	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Young	0/267	0	53/221	23.9	53/488	10.8
Middle	0/275	0	0/213	0	0/488	0
Old	0/331	0	0/259	0	0/590	0

SPSS analysis also shows that the interaction between sex and age is highly significant in the use of [?] ($p<.05$ while $p< .011$ with regard to the interaction between sex and age). As already noted, all of the females who used the [?] variant belong to the young age group.

It is not surprising that the new generation in the area has started adopting the urban variant because of the prestige attached to it as a symbol of softness and urbanisation. We believe that the social meaning of the urban variant as the variant that reflects softness and urbanisation is the only motive for its use by young females of the immigrant group. It is not possible that [?] is being used as a neutral variant, instead of the local variant, as even some local girls have started adopting the urban variant. The fact that it is only found in the speech of the young and not in the speech of, say, the middle-age group, makes us believe that this has come about as a normal and expected development in the speech of the youngest generation. This age group has started adopting a variant which has recently spread to the area and which suits their nature and their tendency like other women in the world toward using the dialect that reflects "prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivenes, connectedness, and sensitivity to others" (Ecksert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992, cited in Wodak & Benke, 1997: 127). This agrees with the findings of Abdel–

Jawad (1981), Al - Khatib (1988), and Al-Wer (1991) in Jordan, who also report that females have started adopting the [?] variant. As already noted, the [?] variant has, in fact, by now (2002) become the prestige standard in Amman and the other major urban areas of Jordan.

Thus, it is proved that sex is a crucial factor in adopting the [?] variant in that it is only found among females and not among males. That age has a role in the use of [?] is also proved as it is only found in the young age group.

Among female speakers, the variant [g] occurs in 32% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Q), the variant [?] in 11%, the variant [k] in 58%, and the variant [q] in 15%. This indicates that a reasonable proportion of speakers still maintain the [k] variant. Nevertheless, female speakers have started appearing as innovators in that they have started using [?] in an area the majority of whose population "is drawn from the tribes of the district" (Gubser, 1973: 1) who are known to be originally [g] users and include "the least number of Palestinian refugees" (Gubser, 1973: 1) only a few of whom might originally be [?] users as they came from urban centres of the West Bank in particular Al Khaliil (Hebron). To find that women are leaders in linguistic variation is not uncommon as "It has been established that women commonly lead in sound change" (Eckert, 1997: 154).

Sex–wise, it is seen that only females use the urban [?] variant. The social meanings attached such as urbanisation and softness (Al-Wer 1991; Amara et al 1999) do not suit men in the society under discussion. Thus, it is not used by men.

Such an innovative behavioural pattern could not pass without significant criticism on the part of the community as "an approximation to this [prestige] implies a deviation from the language of one's own group" (Wodak and Benke, 1997: 132). In addition, it could be perceived as a challenge to the local society in that the change in the variable (Q) occurs also in favour of the local variant [g]. This criticism could take two

forms. First, it could involve accusing the user of abandoning his or her norm of speech for a non-local norm by using a non-local variant. Second, it could be a criticism on the basis that the users are pretending that they are urbanized through using a variant to which such prestige is attached. This criticism is reinforced or negated depending on the ability of the speaker to make his or her speech conform to the other non-local variants. In many cases, the speaker does not have this ability. This is because these variants to which the notion of urbanization and civilization are attached do not originate in the speech of these speakers. Once these speakers start speaking unconsciously, due to the nature of the questions, their misuse immediately becomes apparent. We believe that this is illustrated best in the speech of those who accommodate to the urban variants. We notice for example that in questions which need a short answer the [?] variant is used, while it is not used in questions that need a detailed answer. In other words, when speakers start speaking, they pay attention to the story telling. To attribute this only to the principle of saliency is misleading because the same variant [?] is sometimes used with certain occurrences of some words while it is not used with the same words in the same discussion. This does not mean we do not accept the principle of saliency but at the same time we should also consider what we have called the principle of contrary-to-fact desire - the desire to use the urban variant which contradicts with the fact that this is not originally in the speakers' speech. Consequently, the fact that some speakers frequently use some urban variants while they do not show the same rate of frequency of use of other urban variants could be a result of the degree to which they have succeeded in mastering one new urban variant rather than another. We will take an extract from the speech of speaker 15 to show a concrete example of the above argument:

(3.17)

S15: /baððakkar bHaaritna *al?adiimih* šajarit tuut. kunt Sġiirih *gad* saarah hassah/

'I remember in our *old* neighborhood a mulberry tree. I was a little girl *the same* age as Sarah [the name of the speaker's little daughter) now'

We notice that this speaker uses the local variant [ð] instead of the urban variant [d] in the word / baððakkar/ 'I remember', while she uses the urban variant [?], of the variable (Q), which is more salient than the variable (ð) (Al-Wer, 1991). We, thus, believe that this speaker has the desire to show that she is urban, but this desire is constrained by her inability to use the variants consistently. Notice also that this inability is also reflected in her inability even to use the urban variant [?]. So, she says /gad/ 'at the age of' in stead of /?ad/. Her use of the most salient variant is also constrained by this limited ability. In other words, she behaves similarly with these two variants - they appear sometimes and fail to appear at others, the determinant being her linguistic ability. In another context she says:

3.18

S15 / ϴulϴeen *al?araayah* Hamaaydih/

'Two thirds of the *villages* are Hamaaydih [a tribe]'

First this speaker uses the word /?araayah/ 'villages' with the variant [?] but she adopts the basic plural pattern used by Karakis (who normally say /garaayah/). Had she been a real urban speaker, she would have said /?ura/ 'villages', rather than /?araayah/. In addition, she does not use the urban variant [t] but rather the local variant [ϴ]. Thus, in

this context she also uses the urban variant of the most salient variable (Q) while she does not use the urban variant of the less salient variable (ϴ). We believe that a speaker whose native dialect is the urban dialect would say /tult al?urah/. Though this speaker uses the urban variant [?], she does not manipulate it in the way an urban dialect user would.

We believe that the inability of this speaker to master the urban variant is the only thing that is responsible for her fluctuation between the urban and the local variants. Saliency and social pressure do not play a role in this, or if they do, they do not provide a full explanation.

We adopt a similar analysis of the strategy of accommodation. A speaker uses some local variants and his or her shift to the non-local variants can come only about as a result of an inability to keep using the non-local variant which is not part of his or her native dialect. A person's intention might be to use the non–local variant, as he at least starts doing so, but this desire is constrained by his linguistic ability. We think that social pressure and its relation to the saliency of particular variables does not account for the full facts.

Coming back to the variant [?], we believe that speakers use of this variant results from their attempt to innovate in their linguistic behaviour to conform with that which is perceived as much more suitable for a woman who seeks to appear as society wishes. As society expects women to be soft and urbanized, the urban non-local variant most effectively carries such social meanings.

3.4 The [q] variant

This section includes two subsections. In 3.4.1 we discuss the distribution of the [q] variant by sex and age. In 3.4.2 we discuss the distribution of this variant by level of education.

3.4.1 The distribution of [q] by sex and age

Table 3.6 shows that the highest rate of the total number of occurrences of the [q] variant is among the middle age group.

Table (3.6) The distribution of the [q] variant by sex and age

Sex Age	M	%	F	%	Total	%
Young	29/267	10.8	33/221	14.9	62/488	12.7
Middle	36/275	13	56/213	26.2	92/488	18.8
Old	29/331	8.7	29/259	11.1	58/590	9.8

The lowest rate is found among the old age group. We believe that level of education, which is at its lowest level among the old, is the crucial factor behind this. In addition, age is important, for example, in exposing the old to greater pressure than others not to abandon their native way of speaking. Some studies (for example Walter, 1991: 210) show that older speakers are prepared to maintain stigmatised variants. We also believe that the highest level of occurrence of [q] is found among the middle age group because of the fact that among this age group are those who have the highest level of education. In other words, some of the people in this age group have a master degree or are even studying for a PhD, for example, speakers 26 and 27. It is, of course, true that

among the young are other qualified people. But it should also be kept in mind that among the young appearing as local is one of the most important priorities. In other words, age in itself is not a factor, but rather the features associated with the different ages. For example, the members of the old age group are illiterate because they belong to a previous era when education was very rare. And the members of the middle-age group are at a relatively advanced age where it is time for them to be well qualified, i.e. have more than a BA and spend a considerable time in jobs where SA is also very important. In other words, they are "engaged in professions" as Daher puts it, "that entail much involvement with written, prescriptive language" (Daher, 1998: 193). Labov points out that "It appears that a person's own occupation is more closely correlated with his linguistic behaviour - for those working actively - than any other single social characteristic" (Labov, 1972b: 45). In other words, they are well qualified and spend more time than others, we speculate, in accommodating to the [q] variant. The young are at an age where competition with their local peer groups might be strongest.

3.4.2 Level of education

Table 3.8 shows that the highest rate of the total number of occurrences of the variant [k] is among the uneducated group (51.6%). The rate is 34% among the educated group. The table also shows that the rate of use of the [g] variant is higher among the uneducated group than it is among the educated group. The rates are 43.6% and 36% respectively. The rate of use of the [ʔ] variant is higher among the educated group (7%) than it is among the uneducated group (0%). With regard to the [q] variant, the highest rate of the total number of occurrences is among the educated group and the lowest rate is among the uneducated group. These are 23% and 4.8%, respectively.

Table 3.7: The distribution of the (Q) variable by level of education

Education	[k]		[g]		[?]		[q]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
UE	419/812	51.6	354/812	43.6	0/812	0	39/812	4.8
E	258/754	34	270/754	36	53/754	7	173/754	23

We believe that the highest rate is found among the uneducated group with regard to the [k] variant because this group is dominated by the old, who are found to be [k] preservers as a result of the social pressure they are exposed to.

SPSS analysis shows that education is significant in the use of the [k] variant (P<.05 while it is .018 for education in the use of [k]). However, the factor of age is more significant (P< 05 while P<.000 for age in the use of [k] variant).

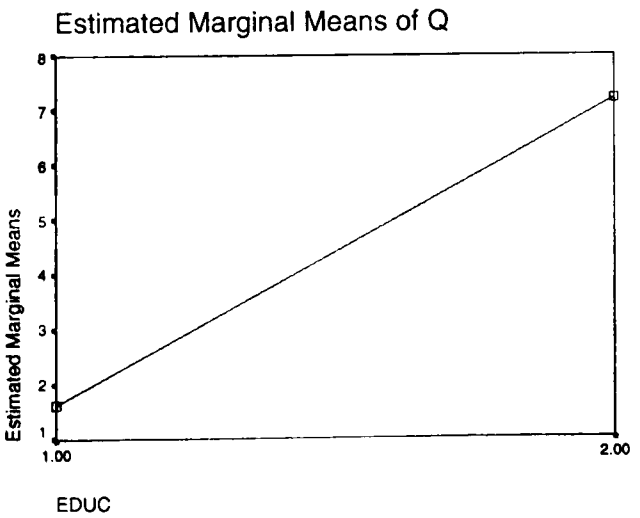
The old also appear in some studies (for example, Walters, 1991: 210) to prefer stigmatised variants. In addition, the fact that some of the members of this age group are uneducated means that they tend not to use the [q] variant at the expense of the [k] variant simply because they could not do otherwise. Amara et al (1999: 59) report in a similar study that "the most obvious form of change they encountered "was an educationally-related change involving the replacement of village vernacular features by forms taken from Standard Arabic" and "this pattern is true of much of the Arab world" (Amara et al, 1999: 59). We also believe that a low level of education results in a low level of awareness of the different social meanings of the different variants due to lack of contact with environments, such as universities and colleges, where the prestige attached to certain variants is just as important as the referential meanings for the members of these educational institutions. For example, Walters (1991) found out that in Korba (Tunisia) "speakers of either generation or sex who had spent considerable time outside of Korba, especially while pursuing higher education . . . [and had] been exposed to patterns of

linguistic behaviour other than those found in Korba were likely to modify their speech with respect to those new patterns" (Walters, 1991: 214).

Table 3.8 shows that level of education is very important in the use of the [q] variant. While [q] is used in 23% of the total number of occurrences of the (Q) variable among the educated group it is used only in 4.8% among the uneducated. Indeed education appears to have a very powerful effect in the use of the [q] variant ($p<.05$ while $p< .000$ for education in the use of the [q] variant).

Figure 3.3 shows a tendency for the educated group to use the [q] variant more than the uneducated. The curve rises and reaches its highest value among speakers of the educated group.

Figure 3.3



The two other factors, age and sex, have very low significance in the use of the [q] variant ($p<.05$ and $p<.421$ for age) and (($p<.05$ while $p <.488$ for sex).

3.4 Conclusion

1- A reasonable proportion of young females (50%) in this area maintain the variant [g] in their speech. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the population of this area is drawn from Bedouin tribes where [g] is dominantly used.

2- A reasonable proportion (38%) also appear to innovate in their linguistic behaviour in that they make their speech conform by choosing the [?] variant of the (Q) variable.

3- A low rate of young informants (6%) appear to use [k]. This is attributed to its relatedness to the rural norm and to the fact that it could be taken as a marked variant where the unmarked variant is [g] or at least the slightly more acceptable [?] for women.

4- When Fallahi females use the urban variant [?] they aim to identify themselves with the code of prestige in that they use the non-local urban variant and not the non-local rural variant. If identity were to be taken as the aim the variant, [k] would be considered more suitable for this purpose in that it is used only in the Palestinian dialects as a variant of (Q). It symbolizes identity in a much more direct way than could be achieved by [?], which is found in many dialects, such as Damascus dialect, not only Palestinian ones.

As has been shown, the old preserve the native non-local variant [k], while young females show some tendency towards the use of the non-local urban variant [?]. Accordingly, we can argue that the innovators are found among young females. Notice also that even if the rate of those who use [?] is relatively low, it is considered a good indicator of this change if we compare it to the nil use of this variant among the older age groups. The nil use of [?] among the older age-groups could be understood by the fact that at the beginning of the period of contact between the different dialects in the area there was no non-geographical social significance to any of these variants and thus each

group kept using its own variant. The older age groups, who were youngsters at the beginning of the contact period, did not find any motive for innovation in their linguistic behaviour in their youth. Later when new social meanings started to be attached to some of the variants as a result of the above mentioned socio-political developments their age did not allow them to make such a shift. As Al-Wer notes, "generally, in Jordanian community, the pressure upon the older generation to conform to the traditional norms is stronger than the pressure upon the younger generation" (Al-Wer, 1991: 91). Eckert also notes that "community studies of variation frequently show that increasing age correlates with increasing conservatism in speech. This is because throughout the course of their life, speakers have a sense of moving forward, and in maturity, anticipating the next developments in their lives and assuming new ways of being - and perhaps new ways of talking - as they go" (Eckert, 1997: 157). After a relatively long period of contact between the dialects of these two groups and as a result of socio-political developments (for more details see chapter one, subsection 1.2.1), different social connotations started to be attached to the variants of the variable (Q). Some of these social connotations are related to identity or urban prestige. Young people of both sexes appear to be the most enthusiastic to start using the different variants on these grounds. In other words, their use of these variants has begun to be motivated. This innovation was thus begun by young people but has moved in different directions. The determinant of this is to a great extent what society expects from them. In the Karak community, where "the Karakis reckon kinship through the male line . . . and the power of the tribe is drawn from males" (Gubser, 1973: 42), men are expected to be tough and strong while women are expected to be soft. Under such an assumption, the variant [g] seems to be the best to function in the former direction, while [?] seems to be the best to function in the latter. The variant [g] is the one to which connotations of rurality and locality were previously attached. From the previously negatively perceived social connotation of rurality the now

positively perceived connotation of toughness is drawn (as toughness is related to what is rural) and from the social connotation of locality the connotation of identity is derived. The fact that non-Palestinian Jordanian society, unlike most other societies in the region, has only the rural-Bedouin dichotomy (each element of which has the [g] variant) enhances the idea of the locality of this variant and increases its importance as a symbol of this identity. The variant [ʔ], which is associated with modernity and emancipation, most effectively conveys the sense of softness, the characteristic which is expected from female speakers (Al-Wer, 1991: 75) in the Karak community. Hudson reports that "The general consensus seems to be that men are more concerned with power and women with solidarity" (Hudson 1996: 141). While young men achieve what is expected from them through using the [g] variant, females proceed to achieve what is expected from them by using the [ʔ] variant. The innovating process takes place in two different forms. With regard to [g] it takes the form of maintaining the use of it for the sake of the newly attached connotation of it as "an indigenous and local variant [which] symbolises Jordanian identity while [ʔ] is alien" (Al-Wer, 1991: 75). It is not unexpected to find that a high percentage of the young age group of both sexes are adopters of the [g] variant. With regard to [ʔ], we find that only females who have started adopting this variant. The [ʔ] variant is adopted by some females as they are not implicated in Karak society by the two new social connotations attached to [g]. On the one hand they are meant to be soft rather than tough. On the other, Jordanian identity, which [g] has started to symbolize, has come about as a result of political developments in which women have no part. (see chapter 1 subsection 1.2.1). According to Trudgill, women "produce on average linguistic forms which . . . have higher prestige than those produced by men" (Trudgill, 1983: 161) and some linguistic forms are chosen "by women for their generally recognized association with femininity" (Mitchell, 1993: 10).

The use of [k] by the old could be interpreted on corresponding grounds. The old are much more criticized socially than the young if they make their speech conform to any colloquial other than their own (Al-Wer, 1991). The social pressure for them to maintain [k] is very strong. On the other hand the strategy of accommodation is also difficult to adopt in the case of a salient variant like [g]. This constraint includes the fact that, according to Trudgill, "if a variant is too stereotypical a feature of the target variety, speakers might delay their accommodation to it because the stereotype is too strong" (Trudgill, 1986; cited in Al-Wer, 1991: 83). Those who originally used [k] find it difficult to vary between it and [?] or between it and [g]. In the first case they would be criticized for using the urban variant [?] for their rural variant [k]. Thus the process would be perceived as an attempt to claim an urban identity by a person who is of rural origin. In fact those people who are now Jordanians but originally Palestinian have historically been very sensitive to this accusation, ever since they were living in their original country. Their competition has always been based on urban-rural relations. In Palestine those who live in the cities use the variant [?] while in the rural areas that are related to these cities the variant [k] dominates. Using [?] for [k] quickly leads to being accused of attempting to abandon one's rural origin and claim an urban identity. The abandoning of [k] in favour of [?] is historically negatively perceived by these people on the basis of its origins in their native country.

The [q] variant is seen to be used the most among the middle age-group. It is found among the age group that have already started their work life and have advanced in their jobs and personal affairs and where ambition is supposed to be associated with wisdom and reality. Appearing educated is no less important than appearing local. They are not among the young for whom the [g] variant is important, nor are they among the old, for whom the preservation of [k] is almost inevitable due to age and social pressure. Thus all factors operate together, playing different roles in the use or non-use of different variants.

For example, while the factor of education plays a role in the appearance of [q] in the educated group, the factor of age is important in the use of [q] in the middle age group among educated people, but not in the young age group among educated people.

Chapter Four

The Variable (K)

This chapter includes five sections. In 4.0 we introduce and discuss the (K) variable. In 4.1 we discuss the variant [C]-preservers. The distribution of the (K) by sex and age will be 4.2. The distribution of the (K) variable by education will be in 4.3. Section 4.4 will be the conclusion.

4.0 Introduction

The velar /k/ has two variants. These are the voiceless velar stop [k] and the palato-alveolar affricate [C]. The [k] variant is prestigious in that it is the variant used in SA and the UAD. While these two variants are found in FAD and KAD, only the [k] variant is found in UAD. The variant [C] is perceived as rural and to a great extent is related to the dialect of the old.

The realisation of [k] as [C] is a process called K*aškaša* in Arabic. *KaškaŠa* was ancient a form of the dialects of the Tamim, Rabi'ah, Bakir Bin Wa'il, Asad, and MuDar tribes (Zu'bi, 2001: 94). According to Sibawayhi, many people from the Tamim and Usd tribes (two ancient Arab tribes) used to pronounce the velar /k/ of the second person feminine singular pronoun suffix as [C] in order to distinguish between the feminine and the masculine as the difference between the two forms when different consonant phonemes are used will be stronger and clearer than when only a vowel distinction is used to make the difference (Sibawayhi; cited in Qasim and Khaleel, 1996).

In addition, most linguistic studies on the dialects where the velar /k/ can be realised as [C] (Cantineau, 1946; Johnston, 1963; Pava, 1976) report that this phenomenon is originally phonetically conditioned (Al Khatib, 1988: 234). In these

studies the velar is reported to be realised as [C] most often in the vicinity of front vowels. The data below taken from Al Khatib (1988) show this:

4.1

/kilme/ → /Cilme/ 'word'

/Haki/ → /haCi / 'talk'

/balki/ → /balCi / 'maybe'

The data below taken from our interview also show that the [k] can be realised as [C] after front vowel:

4.2

/fikha/ /fiCha/ 'untie it'

/briik/ /briiC/ 'pot'

The distribution of [k] and [C] is not systematic, thus, in a word like /kaf/ 'palm' the velar /k/ can be pronounced as [C], but it cannot be realised as [C] in a word like /kaf/ 'refrained' (Al Khatib, 1988). This was explained by Cantineau as "a consequence of a root analogy, viz: the /k/ would not be affricated in /kaf/ 'refrained' because in the imperfect form (i.e. /yakuf/) the /k/ is followed by u, a back vowel, and as such the speakers tend not to affrricate the /k/ in the perfect form /kaf/" (Cantineau, 1946, cited in Al Khatib, 1988: 235). That is to say, although the phenomenon was originally phonetically conditioned, it has now become lexicalized.

Abdel Jawad (1981) also reports that the affrication of k→C in the Bedouin dialects descending from the Arabian Dialects took place in the contiguity of front vowels. So, for example, /kirih/ 'dislike' can be /Cirih/, /keef/ 'how' can be /Ceef/ and /diik/ 'cock' can be /diiC/. Al Zu'bi (2001) states that the process of kaškaša is

generalised in the dialects of the south of Jordan (of which KAD is part) and part of Palestine. Al Zu'bi (2001) adds that this process is not only exclusive to the second person feminine singular pronoun suffix. It is found, for example, in a word like /diiki / 'my cock' which does not have a feminine suffix. This can be pronounced as [diiCi] (Al Zu'bi, 2001).

Johnstone (1963) and Abdo (1969) also stated that the affrication of k→C was unconditioned in the Palestinian Fallahiin dialects (Johnstone, 1963; Abdo, 1969). Notice that KAD is one of the dialects of South Jordan which Al Zu'bi considered and the Fallahi dialect of the group under investigation is one of the Palestinian Fallahiin dialects which Abdo (1969) and Johnstone (1963) considered. Abdel Jawad also reports that the second person masculine singular pronominal suffix, e.g., /abuuk/ 'your (mas.sg.), father'", where /uk/ is the suffix, is excluded from the generalisation that "in the Palestinian Fallahiin dialects , the affrication of k-C was unconditioned" (Abdel Jawad, 1981: 278). However, Al Zu'bi notes that even the second person masculine singular pronominal suffix is not excluded from this generalisation in some rural dialects in Palestine and vowels alone are used to differentiate between the masculine and the feminine of the second person singular. (Al Zu'bi, 2001: 97). Thus, we can have /qultlaC/ 'I said to you' (second person masculine singular)' and /qultliC/ 'I said to you' (second person feminine singular)' (Al Zu'bi, 2001: 97).

In the dialects of the Fallahis and the Karakis the velar /k/ can be realised as [C] in every possible context in a word in FAD and KAD. In addition, we must note that the [k] variant of the (Q) variable can be realised as [C]. For example, /qala/ 'said' can be realised as [kala] 'he said' and then it might be realised again as [Caal]. Thus, the [C] variant can be realised as [C] directly from the [K] variable or from the variant [k] of the (Q) variable. Similarly, the local variant [ki] or the non-local variant [ik] of the

morphemic variable can be realised as [Ci]. Thus, the local [durki] or the non-local [durik] 'your role', can be realised as [durCi] and [duriC] respectively.

4.1 [C]-preservers

The speakers who use the [C] variant are called [C]-preservers. These use at least one instance of this variant. Speakers 1, 4, 6, 8, 12, 16, 17, 23, 38, 39, 44 are [C] preservers.

Table 4.1

Speaker	[C]		[k]	
	N	%	n	%
1	14	40	21	60
4	27	75	9	25
6	11	25.5	32	74.5
8	21	40.3	31	59.5
12	2	4.2	45	95.8
16	24	38.7	38	61.3
17	6	11.3	47	88.7
23	6	8.6	63	91.4
38	7	14.2	42	85.8
39	2	6.8	27	93.2
44	15	29.4	36	70.6

29% of the informants are [C] preservers. 71% of these speakers belong to the old age group. The rest belong to the middle age group.

SPSS analysis confirms that age has very powerful significance in the use of [C] variant ($p<.05$ while $p<.000$ for age in the use of [C]).

With regard to this variant, in particular, we do not believe that social pressure has any role in preserving it. This is because the use of the other variant [k] does not mean shifting to use another dialect as it is also equally used in the speech of the Fallahis. Furthermore, the variant [C] is also part of Karak dialect. The use or non-use of [C] is normally the result of habit. We believe that the linguistic behaviour of the Fallahi speakers with regard to this variant is not determined by its being local or non-local as it is used in the local dialect. This variable is to be seen apart from identity and its social implications. In other words, the linguistic behaviour toward this variable is derived from the way it is perceived to suit modern life. The variant [C] is perceived as rural and to a great extent is related to the dialect of the old. Unlike the variant [g], which was once perceived as only the variant of tough rural life and has become the variant that symbolises identity, the variant [C] is found to be stigmatised in other studies (for example Al Khatib, 1988; Abdel Jawad, 1981) in other local Jordanian dialects because of these social connotations. Al Khatib reports that "the variant [C] is a highly stigmatized feature in the city . . . and most of the Jordanian people in Irbid City disfavour it" (Al Khatib, 1988: 236). Abdel Jawad (1981) also reports that "speakers are aware of this stigmatized feature more than any other feature and they try their best to avoid using it in their speech, especially in front of strangers" (Abdel Jawad, 1981: 279). Its being also used in the Fallahi dialect means that it is not peculiar to the Karaki dialect. This decreases the possibility of its being perceived as a local variant - something which might have led some to adopt it, had that been the case, because of the value attached to local variants. The variants of the (K) variable will be preserved or abandoned by the Fallahi speakers depending to a great extent on the way these variants are perceived to be socially stigmatised or favoured on the ground of their suitability to modern life in Karak.

As a result, the variant [C] is seen to be preserved mainly by old people, for whom appearing modern is relatively unimportant. For example, most of those who appear to

preserve this rural variant also preserve the non-local rural [k] variant. In other words, they are not concerned even about preserving a variant which conveys not only the social meaning of rurality but also the social meaning of non-locality.

The background of these speakers also shows why it is not important for them whether they appear rural or not. Some of them are very old, retired and had very humble jobs such as speakers 1 and 6. Others are old and illiterate like speakers 4, 16, 17, 39 and 38. Finally, some are illiterate and have lived a very exceptional and hard life like speaker 9.

Speaker 1 uses the variant [C] in 40% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k). He is 70 years old, retired and had been working in a small shop in his small village. Given such conditions, we do not think that he would be very much bothered by the connotations which might be carried by the [C] variant. It should also be noticed that he sometimes uses the same lexical item once with the variant [C] and at other times with the variant [k]. In other words, unlike in the case of the native variant [k], preservation of the native variant [C] does not mean excluding the variant [k] as it is also equally used in the Fallahi dialect. This also means that until the very recent past, probably when these speakers were young, the two variants [k] and [C] were equally used by the Fallahis:

4.3

S1: /awwal ma *kaan* min Had ma *Caan* ilwaaHid biddu yixTub biddu bint maθalan bint waaHad yuwaddi ummu aw abuuh yruuHu yŠuufu ilbinit/

'From the very beginning *when, when* a person decides to get engaged he wants a girl, for example, he sends his mother or his father to see the girl'

It is noticed that speaker 1 uses the variant [k] with the word /kaan/ 'was' in the first clause and the variant [C] with the same word /Caan/ 'was' in the second clause. In other words, the use of the variant [C] is possible and at the same time it does not exclude the use of the variant [k].

4.4

/ah zamaan *kaanu yraCbuuha* 9ajjamal wil 9ariis bas miš
daayman *yrakkbuh* 9ala faras wifurru fihum shwai Hawl
ilbalad/
'In the old days they *used to* make the bride *ride* a camel
and sometimes the bridegroom. But not always. They made him
ride a mare, and they paraded them a little around the village.

We notice that this speaker uses the variant [C] in the word /yraCCbu/ 'to make ride' and the variant [k] in the same word /yrakkbu/. This confirms that the use of [k] and [C] is in free variation. In addition, he equally uses the variant [k]. In other words, neither the use of [k] nor the use of [C] is categorical. In fact even the most resistant to the change, namely the old, show readiness to abandon [C].

Other speakers who use the stigmatised [C] variant are housewives, and very old and illiterate people such as speakers 4, 16, 17.

Speaker 4, for example, uses the variant [C] in 75% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k):

1.2.3 Fallahi Arabic Dialect

FAD is the original dialect of the rural immigrants who came to the area as a result of the Arab-Israel war in 1948. The most salient feature of this dialect is the use of the variant [k] of the variable (Q).

1.2.4 Urban Arabic Dialect

This is the dialect said to have spread to the area from the three main Arab cities, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo (Ibrahim, 1986). As this dialect spread from urban areas and particularly from capital cities in the area, it began to be seen as the prestige dialect in Karak and in other places of the Arab world. Women began to use this dialect because of the social connotation attached to it and even prefer it to SA dialect. The adoptation of women to the urban dialect in the Arab world instead of SA led many sociolinguists in the West to misinterpret the behaviour of women in the Arab region. Some of these sociolinguists claim that women in the Arab world go against the norm since, unlike women in other parts of the world and in particular in the West, they are not conservative in their speech in that they are not "closer to the norms of the standard language in their use of certain linguistic variables (as defined in terms of relative deviation on a continuum from an ideal prestige standard vernacular)" (Romaine, 1982: 2). This analysis results from the fact that these sociolinguists do not differentiate between diglossic and non-diglossic societies. In diglossic societies, like those of the Arab world, "the comparisons should be based not on the standard High variety, but on the modern urban forms of Arabic which are termed supra-dialectal low (henceforth SDL) and are used in urban centres such as Damascus, Cairo or Jerusalem. (Ibrahim, 1986). When women use SDL (Supra Dialectal Low), that is roughly equivalent to the standard

variety in the Western societies, they do not go against the norm but rather they use this variety as a "response to social change and modernization" (Walters, 1991: 202), and their language reflects, like that of other women in the world " prestige consciousness, upward mobility, insecurity, deference, nurture, emotional expressivenes, connectedness, and sensitivity to others" (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 1992, cited in Wodak & Benke, 1997: 127). According to Chambers, "The diglossic situation entails that literary Arabic be a superimposed variety. It is not a mother tongue . . . As a result, it cannot fill the role of the standard variety in social stratification" (Chambers, 1995: 142). Thelander (1979) similarly believes "that one must acknowledge the existence of an intermediate variety, i.e. regional standard" (Thelander, 1979, cited in Romaine, 1982: 3). In addition to this, Labov indicates some cases where prestige is associated with certain local dialects even in North America (for example, Philadelphia local dialect) and how these dialects can reverse the normal flow of influence. According to him, "Once we are willing to refine our notion of prestige to give full weight to the local prestige associated with [some dialects]", we can understand how some "local prestige . . . is powerful enough to reverse the normal flow of influence, and allow the local patterns to move upward to the upper middle class and even to the upper class" (Labov, 1979:15). Consequently, one should consider all types of prestige, as some can be covert. Hence, when some stigmatized dialects "are maintained over a long period of time, and even expand in the face of that stigmatization, one is forced to consider the existence of an opposing set of values that do not readily emerge in a formal situation, and some firm evidence has been produced for the existence of such covert prestige" (Labov, 2001: 24). Thus, when the situation in the Middle East is re-analysed in this way, as Chambers puts it, "taking into account the social ramifications of diaglossia, the discrepancy between male and

female responses in Middle Eastern and Western societies disappears" (Chambers, 1995: 143-144). Thus, it is important for linguists not to be "misled into thinking that what is unusual in a particular language or language family, or simply unfamiliar to them, may also be universally non-natural" (Trudgill, 1996: 9-10).

This dialect could be referred to in Jordan in my terminology as /ʔAD/. This is because a key feature of this dialect is the use of /ʔ/.

The urban dialect used in Jordan is a home-grown dialect with a Jordanian flavour: "the Jordanian and the Palestinian features are roughly equally represented" (Al Wer, 2000: 32). Both groups "are engaged in the making of [this] new dialect . . . At the consonantal level, features already present in the parents' dialects are used, but the combination of features . . . is innovation" (Al-Wer, 2000: 46-47). When dealing with this dialect as a whole we can say that it has its own identity in Jordan. It is not the dialect of Damascus, or the dialect of Cairo, or Jerusalem or Nablus or any other place. It is a dialect for which "there is no linguistic metropolis to copy" (Al Wer, 2000; 29). It is constructed in such a way as to become in "itself the linguistic metropolis of Jordan" (Al-Wer, 2000: 29).

The previous discussion shows the importance of the variant used and how the choice of a variant causes a change in the whole situation. This process is not a random one as it may 'signal' a different view from that which one might wish to signal. Thus, a major part of our study will be an attempt to investigate how all of these social, political, and economic developments which have taken place in Jordan in general, and Karak in particular, have played a major role in re-forming the social connotations attached to some variants of certain phonological variables. As a result, sound change in progress or even a completed sound change could be noticed. A major purpose of this study is to highlight the pattern of variation

existing within the speech of the Fallahis and to test if this pattern of variation correlates with particular linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. We are particularly interested in certain sociological factors such as age, sex and level of education.

The investigation of linguistic variation in the speech of the Fallahis living in Karak will be carried out in light of the Labovian paradigm (where "paradigm means something like approach" as Hudson (1996: 145) puts it). According to Mesthrie, "William Labov, argued, . . . that language involved structured heterogeneity. By this he meant . . . that language contained systematic variation which could be characterised and explained by patterns of social differentiation within speech communities. This body of work has come to be known by various names: variationist theory, the quantitative paradigm, urban dialectology, the Labovian school, secular linguistics" (Mesthrie, 2000: 77). Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal note that "The major contribution of Labovian-style variationist sociolinguistics-studying the language use patterns of speakers as members of groups - has been to demonstrate that there are indeed predictable macro-patterns and a hierarchy among the social identity factors associated with variation in the patterns" (Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal, 2001). The Labovian paradigm also demonstrates that "it matters who the speakers are, and what they have to say, and what they are doing with their language" (Guy, 1997: x) and why anyone says anything" (Linde, 1997: 3). The Labovian paradigm will be the basic foundation of our study. Wolfram and Thomas state that the "assumption that speakers who are socially similar can be expected to be linguistically similar, which we will call the *homogeneity assumption*, has been named as a basic tenet of the 'quantitative paradigm' . . ., that is, the investigative framework established by Labov, and it pervades much sociolinguistic work" (Wolfram and Thomas, 2002, 161). But Myers-Scotton and Bolonyal note that "a social factors model can provide

variable. However, he consistently used the variant [k] of the variable (k) without any single use of the variant [C]:

4.7

S18: / iða gaSdak ween *sakanna* awwal *bakullak* iSSaHiiH bilmuġur. Sint iΘamaani wxamsiin ma *kaan* 9inna fluus nibni byuut faSurna niHfur maġaayir *wkull* waaHad yHfurlu mġaara wbiir mayyih *wsakanna/*

'If you mean where we *lived* at the *beginning I tell you*: in caves. In 1958 we *did not have* money to build houses. Thus, we started digging caves. *Everyone* dug a cave and a well for himself and then we began to *live* [there].

Speaker 18 in this extract uses the variant [k] of the variable (k) but not the variant [C]. At the same time he uses the non-local variant [k] of the variable (Q) in the word /bakullak/ 'I tell you', which can associate the speaker with his or her native group, and the local variant [g] of the same variable, which suggests locality. In other words, while the non-local variant [k] of the variable (Q) appears, though it is stigmatised, so as to please the original group, the Fallahi, it seems that the [C] variant cannot fulfil this function. Instead, it would just identify the speaker as the user of a stigmatised variant without any hope of achieving any 'reward' from this linguistic behaviour. This speaker, as we have seen in the discussion of the variables (Q) and (Vki), is a sheikh at the level of the Karak district and is meant to be able to adapt to the speech of the two different groups, namely the Fallahis and the Karakis. It seems, thus, that the non-use of the variant [C] does not contradict with this characteristic and would not help in enhancing its strength if it were used.

Speaker 25, who is a deputy dean of a local college, uses only the variant [k]. This speaker appears to adopt variants which can enhance one's position as a local person. He accommodates to the [g] variant, though he also uses the stigmatised non-local variant [k]. The fact that the variant [C] is not used in his speech leads us to suggest that the non-use of this variant does not jeopardise his aims or diminish his attempt to associate with both his group and the local group. Even if the use of the [C] could help in this direction it is not chosen. This means that the cost of its use must be much greater than the reward one can gain through using it. We believe that the connotation attached to it as a tough, old rural variant is the major reason why it is avoided, as well as the fact that it is even locally perceived in the same way. In other words, even if this variant is linked to such social meanings among the Fallahis it does not carry the same stigmatised meaning among the local group, and it would not be avoided in the way we noticed among the different Fallahi speakers. For example, though the [g] variant was associated with such stigmatised meanings in the past, the fact that it has become a symbol of local identity and is preferred by local people makes it widely adopted by Fallahi speakers.

The following extract shows how speaker 25 uses the [k] variant but not the [C] variant:

4.8

S25: /*kunna* nruuH . . . 9ala *kunna* nzra9 9inab wtiin btigdar tguul

wnizra9 *fakkuus* waxyaar wbanduura *wkaanat* 9iiših

haniyyih miΘil ma biguulu/

'*We used to* go . . . we *used to* plant grapes and figs you can

say. We planted *cucumber*, Egyptian cucumber and tomato.

It was a healthy life, as they say.'

Here speaker 25 uses the variant [k] three times in the words /kunnna/ 'we were' (twice) and the word /wkaanat/ 'it was' but not the variant [C]. It is also noticed that the key feature of the Fallahi dialect [k] appears in his speech (in the word /fakkuus/ 'cucumber') as does the key feature [g] of the Karaki dialect (in the words, /btigdar/ 'you can' and the word /tguul/ 'you say'). In other words, local as well as non-local features are equally used in his speech but not the variant [C]. Locality or non-locality has no role in the non-appearance of the [C] variant. Again, the fact that the [C] variant is stigmatised as a linguistic feature perceived as old and rural appears to be the direct reason for its non-appearance. In addition, as an educated man, we believe speaker 25 avoids using a linguistic feature which is associated with uneducated old people. It is reported that Standard forms are "highest among academics and clerical workers" (Amara et al, 1999: 75).

Speaker 5, who is a member of one of the local councils, similarly does not use the [C] variant. This speaker appears to use certain variants because they can enhance one's being perceived as local. This also confirms that this variant does not have such connotations.

With regard to the young, they are expected to play a major role in the maintenance or loss of the [C] variant. As Eckert states, "Adolescence is a crucial life stage for the study of variation, for it is the adolescent age group that has been found to lead all other age groups in sound change" (Eckert, 2000: 4).

Young males stereotypically used the [k] variant and abandoned the [C] variant. We believe that young males in general do not show an interest in adopting those variants which convey modern life unless these variants can also convey a social meaning which can enhance their position in the society as local people. We believe that while the [C] variant carries the connotation of rurality and age unlike the variant [g] it does not help one to appear local. Using it gains rural connotations but nothing more. So, it is avoided,

as it is a 'cost' without a 'reward'. In other words, adopting or abandoning a variant is pragmatically decided. It is not an aim in itself. Myers-Scotton states that "people exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 57).

In the Karak district, the young Fallahi males have a great interest in appearing as local people, indeed as no less local than their local counterparts. We also note the fact that locality in itself is psychologically important in a society like Karak, where one's belonging to one of the socially dominant groups is crucial in one's desire to enhance social position. We also confirm the importance of the psychological aspect of this; in practical terms one's way of speech does not have any role in one's ability to occupy or advance in any official position in the town. In other words, practically your belonging or not belonging to a big local tribe does not have any effect on your ability to advance in any official position.

Like young males, young females also stereotypically abandoned the [C] variants. In fact, none of them used it. Even those females who appear to use the local variant [g], though it has the social meaning of rurality, do not use the [C] variant. It seems that the perception of this variant as old, ugly and widely stigmatised in other Jordanian dialects, in other words its being stigmatised even by the local people, has caused this variant to be largely abandoned. The classical Arab grammarian Al Suyuti similarly stated that the use of [C] for /k/ is "one of the ugliest linguistic phenomena" (Al Suyuti, 910H; cited in Al Zu'bi, 2001: 95). Ammayyirih also reports that university students in Jordan feel linguistically shy of this phenomenon, known as *kaškaša* and they avoid it with their university peers in the university environment, using it again only when they return to their rural environment (Ammayirih, 2000). As it is seen in our discussion of the variable (Q), some girls showed a readiness to abandon the local variant [g], the symbol of local identity, and the non local variant [k], the symbol of origin, in favour of the urban [ʔ]

variant. In other words, the concept of rurality is rejected by them in favour of that of urbanity regardless of any other consideration or 'cost'; appearing to abandon a local variant or a native variant in favour of another variant. It is not unexpected that they should abandon such a stigmatised variant as [C]. Amara et al report that "the attraction of the urban forms, especially to the younger educated women, is even stronger, reflecting a tendency already noted in Jordan as well for women's speech to be marked urban" (Amara et al, 1999: 77). Mitchell notes that "forms are cultivated by women for their generally recognized association with femininity" (Mitchell, 1993; cited in Amara, 1999: 77).

4.2 Distribution of the (K) variable by sex and age

The following tables display our findings:

Table 4.2 The distribution of the variable (k) by age.

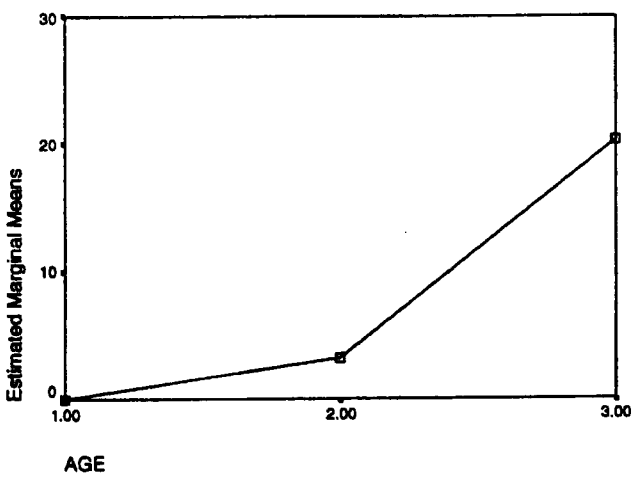
Age	[k] N	%	[C] N	%	N
Young	684	100	0	0	684
Middle	744	94	48	6	792
Old	459	57	347	43	806

Table 4.3 The distribution of the variable (k) by age and sex.

Sex			M					F		
Age	[k]	%	[C]	%	T	[k]	%	[C]	%	T
Young	314	100	0	0	314	370	100	0	0	370
Middle	399	97	13	3	412	342	90	38	10	380
Old	241	62	149	38	390	220	53	196	47	416

Table 4.2 shows that the stigmatised [C] variant is used in 0% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k) among the young age group. It increases to 6% among the middle age group and it drastically increases to 43% among the old age group. Figure 4.1 shows this pattern of increase by age.

Figure 4.1



The young, in general, try to follow the patterns which they believe have the social meanings they seek. The fact that there are fewer social pressure on the young than on the old in Jordanian societies (Al-Wer, 1991) also helps the young to lead in sound change, since "Such innovative behavioral pattern could not pass without much criticism by the community as an approximation to this [prestige] implies a deviation from the language

of one's own group" (Wodak and Benke, 1997:132). When adopting a possibly perceived rural variant we do not believe that rurality is in itself the ultimate goal.

The rate rises slightly among the middle age group. Here it is 6%. It should be taken into consideration that some of the speakers in this age group were born in their native country. It is expected that some of them would bring with them certain native dialect features. In addition, they are relatively old. Thus, it is expected that they will feel more social pressure to preserve these native features than the young. Regardless of any other factors which might have caused the [C] variant to be stigmatised recently, these speakers must have originally used it and could not completely abandon it in their causal speech when the original vernacular is given the chance to 'emerge'. In other words, the factor of age is held to be crucial in finding the stigmatised [C] variant in the speech of this age group.

The old age group shows the highest rate of use of the stigmatised [C] variant. We believe that the factor of age plays the same role as in the middle age group but in a more effective and pronounced way. The people here are older than the people of the middle age group, thus their sensitivity to social pressure is stronger. In addition, the fact that they are older means that they had better control of their native dialect before coming to Jordan, i.e. they spent a longer time using the native dialect than the middle-age group. All the people in this age group were born in the native village where the native dialect was dominant, while in the middle age group some of the people were born in Jordan (those who are less than 53 years old). The possibility of using the original vernacular forms should be higher among the old age group. The interest in prestige is supposed to be lower among the members of the old age group than others. There is less concern about using a stigmatised variant. While the social pressure upon the old is highest, the motive to adopt what it is perceived as prestigious is normally lowest. The old appeared to preserve categorically other stigmatised variants which might, further, support a

tendency toward preserving non-local linguistic forms: for example, the rural non-local [k] variant of the (Q) variable. In other words, they do not mind using some variants which might carry negative implications, being protected by age and 'lack of motives'. It is expected that they will preserve other native variants which do not have local implications such as the [C] variant, as it is also part of the local dialect phonetic inventory.

The older the speakers are, the higher the rate of use of the stigmatised [C] variant. Eckert points out that "Age stratification of linguistic variables, then, can reflect change in the speech of the community" (Eckert, 1997: 151). Eckert also notes "A trend study with an age-graded sample is the only kind that can unequivocally show change in progress as it shows successive cohorts at each life stage" (Eckert, 1997: 153).

Table 4.3 above also shows that males and females in the young age group behave in the same way linguistically with regard to the stigmatised [C] variant. It is completely absent in their speech. They both categorically use the urban/SA [k] variant. This is used in 100% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Q) in the speech of both sexes. This is not unexpected because "As changes near completion, the difference between men and women becomes smaller" (Labov, 2001: 308). Indeed, SPSS analysis confirms this and shows that sex has very low significance in the use of [C] variant ($p<.05$ while $p<.170$ for sex in the use of the [C] variant).

To find that young females abandon the stigmatised [C] variant and categorically adopt the SA/urban [k] variant is also very much expected. Labov reports that "Women are the principal innovators in the process of change" (Labov, 2001: 295). Labov states that "Women are at some stages a full generation ahead of men" (Labov, 2001: 306). Nonetheless, men are typically expected to follow and at some stage or other they catch up. It seems that the stage where they catch up is often the stage where the change is near completion. Labov states that "If the change is generally adopted in the community,

gender differences will disappear" (Labov, 2001: 309). This also makes us wonder whether men could ever be innovators or whether are always more resistant to change than women. In other words, are they not innovators because they are more loyal to the society and its traditions, among which is the way of speech or because they do not have the ability to be innovative? We believe that women are more sensitive than men to speech. Labov points out that "women are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern" (Labov, 1972b: 247). Chambers (1995) reports that the idea that women master standard speech better than men has a long history. According to Chambers, "The observation that women master standard speech better than men is by no means new. It was made as early as 55BC by Cicero in De Oratore (III, 12)" (Chambers, 1995: 124). But why they are more sensitive to the prestige pattern than men and linguistically behave differently is a question raised by many (for example Milroy, 1987: 102) and answered by (Trudgill, 1972: 182-3). Trudgill believes that there are two reasons behind this sensitivity:

1- The social position of women in our society is less secure than that of men, and, usually, subordinate to that of men. It may be, therefore, that it is more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal (this will be particularly true of women who are not working).

2- Men in our society can be rated socially by their occupation, their earning power, and perhaps by their other abilities - in other words by what they do. For the most part, however, this is not possible for women. It may be, therefore, that they have instead to be rated on how they appear. Since they are not rated by their occupations or by their occupational success, other signals of status, including speech, are correspondingly more important.

Labov believes that this sensitivity derives from the fact that "where women have not traditionally played a major role in public life, cultural expectations will lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture" (Labov, 1982: 141).

Given this, we speculate that the differing opportunities available to each gender can be seen to set up the following pattern regarding the use of variants. In the absence of other means of experiencing self-expression and respect, the female role typically takes on a heightened sensitivity towards the social value of linguistic variants. As such, those variants that are selected as carrying greater social respect are reinforced at the expense of those that are considered inferior. As this determination is set in motion and an accepted standard of socially acceptable linguistic practice is established, the male role becomes one of adaptation to the female standard. This, of course, bears no relation to an idea of 'differing gender abilities', but to the means by which the different genders seek to express themselves. To put this in Labovian terms, the delay between the origination and establishment of a female-endorsed variant and its being taken up by men can be seen in terms of a gradual acceptance by men of an evaluative decision and its practice taken by the women, perhaps as much as a generation before. Underlying the gradual adoption of the female variant by the men lies the tacit acknowledgement that it is women who set the standard for the most prestigious use of language.

Table 4.3 shows that the rate of the use of [k] and [C] in the speech of males and females in the middle age group is similar, but the difference is slightly greater than that found among the younger generations. Among the middle-age group table 4.3 shows that the variant [k] is used in 97% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k) and the [C] variant is used in 3% in the speech of males, while the [k] variant is used in 90% in the speech of females and the [C] variant in 10%. The [k] variant is considered the SA/urban variant. We believe that the abandoning of [C] in favour of [k] by males is an attempt to standardise their speech, while the abandoning of [C] in favour of [k] by

females is attempt to urbanise, and thus level their speech. Chambers points out that "in several communities, sociolinguistic results clearly show that women use fewer literary Arabic forms than men" (Chambers, 1995: 140). That men have a higher rate of use of the more prestigious variant [k] than women does not contradict Labov's view that women are ahead of men by at least a generation in the use of the prestigious variant. Rather, it is in line with most of the studies conducted in the area if we consider the [k] variant as prestigious, on the grounds that it is the SA variant as well as the urban variant. For example, Labov states that "In Amman, for all social classes, men favoured the use of the *qaf* [the SA variant] prestige form more than women (Abdel –Jawad 1981); [and] this pattern was replicated in Nablus (Abdel-Jawad 1987)" (Labov, 2001: 270). Indeed, in adopting the SA forms men are the leaders and in three surveys (Schmidt 1974; Abdel-Jawad 1981; Bakir 1986) "the men score higher than women" (Chambers, 1995: 140). Now, the fact that the [k] variant is the urban variant makes us argue that women are not behind men in the use of [k]. Strictly speaking, women adopt the [k] because of the flavour of urbanisation it has, not because of its association with SA. As such, each gender adopts the prestigious [k] variant. However, while men aim to standardise their speech to SA, women aim to level their speech to the urban Arabic. This also makes us reject Abdel-Jawad's argument that "Women in the community under discussion [Amman community] do not lead in the use of forms that they consider to be better" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981: 324). Notice that when we dealt with the variable (Q) which has the [q] SA variant and the [?] urban variant, men appear to favour [q]. As such they are ahead of women in the use of SA. Women appear to favour [?], the prestigious urban dialect and as such are ahead of men in the use of the 'supra-segmental low'. This confirms Chamber's argument that "When the linguistic situation in the Middle east is re-analysed in this way, taking into account the social ramifications of diglossia, the discrepancy between male and female responses in Middle Eastern and Western societies disappears. .

. . The female advantage in verbal abilities apparently overrides the sociocultural differences [and as such] then the Middle East should prove to be a rich source of inference about the validity of the hypothesis" (Chambers, 1995: 144-145).

With regard to males and females of the old age group, we notice that for men the [k] variant is used in 62% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k) and the [C] variant is used in 38% while the [k] variant is used in 53% and the [C] variant in 47% among females.

We believe that females in this age group adhere more to the stigmatised [C] variant than men because they have less contact with the outside world than men, and thus are less interested in abandoning what might be perceived by the society as a stigmatised variant. According to Labov, "where women have not traditionally a major role in public life, cultural expectations will lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture" (Labov, 1982: 141). Indeed, in particular females in this age group do not have any role in public life. In addition, we notice that the difference in the rate of the use of the variants [k] and [C] is also very slight.

4.3 The distribution of the (K) variable by education

Table 4.4: The use of [k] and [C] by education

Edu	[K]N	%	[C]N	%	N
U	287	74	101	26	388
E	359	95	19	5	378

With regard to education, table 4.4 shows that the higher the level of education the higher the use of the SA/urban variant [k] and the lower that of the stigmatised [C]. In the speech of the educated, the [k] variant is used in 95% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (k) and the [C] variant in 5%. In the speech of the uneducated the [k] variant is used in 74% of occurrences and the [C] variant in 26%.

We interpret this pattern of variation with regard to the use of [k] variant and the [C] variant in the speech of those of different levels of education in terms of the fact that the further you go in education the more domains you are given the chance to explore and the more you are likely to be affected in terms of what is prestigious and what is not. For example being uneducated means being forbidden from dealing with some institutions and exploring any educational institution, while being educated means dealing with at least certain educational institutions, possibly up to universities and colleges. Being educated indicates and implies being given wider chances to know what is going on in these important environments. As such, the uneducated are supposed to have no chance to deal with others in some domains where prestige is important, e.g. university environments. As already noted, the further you proceed in education the more you are given the opportunity to deal with people in various environments. As such, while the uneducated are not given the chance to deal with people at various school levels (primary, preparatory and secondary), the educated have the chance to deal with others at these levels, and are given the chance to deal with others in other domains such as college and university. We found that this educational stratification correlates with the percentage of use of the variable (k). The higher the level of education the less the use of the stigmatised [C] variant. Lack of contact and interaction with others through these important educational institutions reduce the opportunity to develop this awareness and to develop a sense of the extent to which the use of one variant rather than another is significant. Education also increases the opportunity to explore other people's way of

thinking. Part of this could be the way we perceive the society and the degree to which one allows it to affect one's views and behaviour. As such, the degree to which social pressure could affect another person's behaviour, in particular, linguistic behaviour, might vary according to the level of education. In addition, and in particular regarding this variable, educated people might use the [k] variant but not the [C] variant either as a result of an attempt to make their speech conform to SA speech or as an attempt to make it conform to urban speech. For, the variant [k] is considered the SA and the urban variant at the same time. In many studies (for example, Amara et al 1999), educated people show a tendency to abandon the stigmatised variant in favour of the SA variants or the prestigious urban variant. For example, Amara (1999) in his study carried out in Bethlehem (Palestine) found that "those with education beyond the secondary level are moving either towards the standard or towards the urban variant" (Amara et al, 1999: 69). Given that the [k] variant is considered the urban variant as well as the SA variant, the [k] variant will win out over the variant [C] whether as part of an attempt of some of the educated to use the urban variant or by others to use SA. In other words, in both cases the choice is the [k] variant. Unlike with the other variables where the urban variant differs from the SA variants (for example the variable (Q), where the urban is the [?] variant while the SA is the [q] variant), here using SA or the urban variant means using the same variant, i.e. the [k] variant. The percentages which would be divided into two different variants, the urban and the SA in case they are different, here accumulate to one variant - the [k] variant. This might explain why the percentage of the [k] variant among the educated is twice as high as the percentage of the urban variant [?] and the SA variant [q] among the educated in our discussion of the variable (Q). The SA and the supra-segmental low variant happen to be the same with regard to the (k) variable, i.e. in both cases it is [k].

The uneducated are also expected not to be interested in using SA variants, simply because they are not interested in appearing educated. Normally, they have no experience of using SA variants as they are generally learned at schools. In addition, the uneducated include the old. As Abdel-Jawad states "in most cases uneducated speakers are the older ones" (Abdel-Jawad, 1981: 82). This means that among the uneducated are found those people who are known to adhere most strongly to their native dialect. Furthermore, Al Khatib points out that "the more educated the speakers, the more they tend to use standard lexical and phonological features in their output" (Al Khatib, 1988: 350). This means the less educated the speakers, the less they tend to use standard lexical and phonological features in their speech. Accordingly, the more the non-standard [C] variant is likely to appear in their speech. As noted, the non-standard [C] variant is used in 26% of the speech of the uneducated group while it is used only 5% of the speech of the educated group.

4.4 Conclusion

We have found that the young stereotypically use the [k] variant and abandon the [C] variant. Its social meaning as an old rural variant which stereotypically appears in the speech of old and illiterate people has led it to be widely stigmatised. Its inability to convey any social meaning related to identity and locality also makes it a costly but rewardless variant. Thus, it is avoided.

We also believe that the fact that this variant exists in both the dialect of the Fallahis and the dialect of the Karakis diminishes the possibility of its being used by the Fallahis as a matter of accentuating locality or of preserving their native variant. It is not peculiar to either of the two groups. For example, we noticed how the variant [k] of the variable (Q) is used for pragmatic reasons though it is socially stigmatised simply because

it is peculiar to Fallahis, something which might make its user obtain the reward of being described as a native dialect preserver.

Young females also stereotypically abandon the [C] variant. Young females appear to abandon even the variants which have very important social meanings simply if these variants also carry the social meaning of rurality. Young females' first priority is to adopt the variants which convey the social meanings of urbanisation or softness. Thus, from the very beginning the variant [C] is expected to be abandoned by young females.

The members of the old age group use the [C] variant the most. The old are exposed to significant pressure to preserve their native dialect. In addition, unlike with the variables (Q) and (ki), the old do not show frequent use of the [C] variant. This makes us believe that this sound change process started long ago and that at some stage during their life-time, these speakers started abandoning it in favour of the Standard/urban variant [k].

In light of the fact that the [C] variant is completely absent in the speech of the young and used at a very low rate among the middle age group, we conclude that this variable is involved in a sound change in progress which is currently in the process of completion.

Chapter Five

The Variable (Vki)

5.0 Introduction

Unlike (Q) and (K), the (Vki) variable is not phonological but a morphological one. The (Vki) variable has three variants. These are [ik], [ki] and [vki]. The [ki] variant is the local variant used by Karakis while the [ik] variant is the non-local variant used by Fallahis and it is also the variant used in the UAD. The SA variant is [vki]. The initial V in (Vki) indicates vowel. In Standard Arabic this vowel can be [u], [a] or [i] depending on the final vowel of the preceding element. In the case of nouns, this final vowel will be a case-ending. Standard Arabic has three cases; nominative, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–u*; accusative, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–a;* and genitive, which is most commonly expressed by the vowel suffix *–i*. Thus, in /kayfa SiHHatuki/ "how is your health?" (literally "how health your"), SiHHa(tu) "health" is in the nominative case, and accordingly has *–u* before the pronoun suffix proper *–ki*. The preposition *fi,* however, like all prepositions in Standard Arabic, takes the genitive case. Thus, the form for 'in your house' is /fi baytiki/, /bayt/ 'house', with the genitive –i vowel before the pronoun suffix proper *[ki]*. In the non-local colloquial, this second person feminine singular suffix is always realised as [ik] and in the local colloquial it is always realised as [ki].

We believe that the reading of this local variant depends to a great extent on our reading of the local variant [g] in that both are local but only the [ki] is peculiar to Karak dialect. The difference in the linguistic behaviour of the same speakers with regard to

these two variants in some context could be attributed to only this difference between them - one of them is peculiar to the Karak dialect while the other is not. From time to time throughout our analysis of this variant, we will refer to the local variant [g] especially where we believe that this helps in clarifying the picture.

5.1[ik]-preservers

The members of this group who retain frequent use of the non-local variant [ik] will be called [ik]-preservers in that they are not affected by the local marker [ki].

Speakers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9 ,10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 30, 36, 37, 38, 39, 44, 26, 41, 42, 48 are [ik]-preservers.

Table 5.1

Speaker	[ik]		[ki]		[vki]	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
1	23	100	0	0	0	0
2	30	96.8		0	1	3.2
3	25	100	0	0	0	0
4	17	100	0	0	0	0
6	14	82.4	0	2.5	3	17.6
8	34	91.8	0	0	3	8.2
9	5	8	1	16.6	0	0
10	13	92.8	0	0	1	7.1
11	9	100	0	0	0	0
27	3	50%	0	0	3	50
14	8	100	0	0	0	0
16	10	100	0	0	0	0
30	12	92.3	0	0	1	7.6
36	9	100	0	0	0	0
37	11	100	0	0	0	0
38	13	100	0	0	0	0
39	12	92.3	1	7.6	0	0
44	15	83.3	0	0	3	16.7
26	9	60	2	13.3	4	26.6
41	3	60	0	0	2	40
42	10	90.9	0	0	1	9.1
48	7	100	0	0	0	0

Thus, 22 (46%) of the informants are [ik]-preservers and use the variant [ik] throughout the interview consistently except in very limited cases where some shift to the other variants can take place. The following are examples of these shifts:

5.1

S26: /kaifa *ibnataki* ilyawm. fatHiyyah sam9itni bas?al
9an *bintik/*
'How is your *daughter* today? Fathiyya [proper name]
do you hear me? I am asking about your *daughter*'

We notice that speaker 26, who works as a headmistress, used the SA variant [aki] in the word /ibnataki/ 'your daughter'. It is noticeable that the form /ibnataki/ which the speaker uses here is not technically correct Standard Arabic. As the predicand (mubtada?) the form here should be /ibnatuki/, i.e. this word should be the nominative case. The important point, however, is not whether the speaker gets the case-ending vowel right, but that she has added some vowel before the suffix [ki]. We will see further examples later where other speakers similarly produce SA forms of the (Vki) variable, in which the first vowel does not conform to the formal rules of Arabic grammar, but which nevertheless are to be regarded from the current point of view as Standard Arabic forms. Then she used the non-local variant [ik] with the same word /bintik/ 'your daughter' (note also the more colloquial form /bint/ as compared to the SA /ibna(t)/). Indeed, the first use of the word /ibnataki/ is an attempt to standardise her speech as a matter of accommodation to /FatHiyya/ 'a proper name' as 'Fathiyya' is the Arabic language teacher in the school as the following conversation shows:

5.2

RE: / Šaayfik btiHki 9arabi tamaam/

'I see that you speak perfect Arabic'

S26: /wallaah ya istaað miŠ daa?iman bas ma9 fatHiyyah laazim

la?innha m9allmit il9arabi wma bnislam minha ?iða ġliTna/

'Indeed, sir, not always. But Fathiyya is the teacher of Arabic

and if we make a mistake we can not escape from her'

We speculate that the use of the SA variant [Vki] is related only to certain occasions. We also think that this variant would not be used in this way unless the interlocutors were a teacher of Arabic and a headmistress of a school. Unlike the SA variant [q], the SA variant [Vki] needs a relatively high level of education if it is to be produced absolutely correctly as the initial vowel (V) is a case-ending, rather than part of the pronominal suffix proper. Case endings do not exist in the Arabic dialects, but only in Standard Arabic. Their use in speech is, accordingly, only mastered only by highly educated people. Notice also that in the same conversation she shifted to the non local variant with the same word. It seems that the use of the colloquial in the second occurrence of the same word aimed to confirm that she is serious, and that she really wants to know about her interlocutor's daughter. So, she stopped using SA, which might be used between them as a signal of a common background, especially since we know that speaker 26 also has a MA in Arabic and is a poet.

The second example is:

(5.3)

RE: /kiif iððakarti innik insiitiihum/

'How did you remember that you forgot them?

S426: /qultilha *dawraki* haamiši wala ytlaa?am ma9 . . . xalliina

nguul . . . ma9 haaða azzamaan. bSaraaHah ma

baHssha btitHassas maŠaakilna 9an qurb/

'I told her that *her role* is not essential and it does not suit this time.

Frankly, I do not feel that she feels our problem closely'

We also notice here that the use of the SA [vki] is related to a great extent to the general use of SA in her speech, as the topic requires. She was talking about some advice she gave to one of the women who is responsible for a woman's cultural organization in Karak. We believe that in such a context, while talking about culture, it would be difficult to say /doorki/ or /doorik/ 'your role' colloquially using the local [ki] or [ik]. Again, it is worth commenting that, as in the previous example /dawraki/ is pseudo-SA, rather than genuine SA. Arabic grammar would here require /dawruki/. It is also worth noticing here the difference in pronounciation between Standard Arabic /dawr/ and colloquial Arabic /door/. The shift from /aw/ to /oo/ is a standard feature differentiating Standard Arabic from colloquial Arabic forms.

The [ik] preservers will be also investigated closely with regard to the role of the individual's background in preserving his or her native dialect. In addition, we want to investigate to what extent the different personal features of these members fit in with our generalisations. We will start with males and go on to females.

Speaker 1 is 71 years old. After retiring as a guard from the Ministry of Labour, he opened a small shop in one of the Karak villages, where he lives. So, he spends most

of his time dealing with a small number of people to whom he is a Fallahi old man who migrated to this village long ago. Thus, he is living in a "small, tightly-knit, close-network type of community" (Trudgill, 1996: 3), where there is a high degree of contact between people. Chambers also notes that "the most isolated speakers tend to be the most consistent dialect speakers" (Chambers, 1995: 125). So, even if the use of the local variant would not lead him to be criticised by either the Fallahis or the Karakis, the use of the local variant will not help him change the fact that he is a Fallahi and not a Karaki. Furthermore, we should not ignore the fact that the use of [ik] might signal a positive orientation to other Fallahis living in the area as the majority of people in his village are Fallahis. In addition, this will not help him gain any practical reward. Taking the principle of cost and reward into account, this speaker will lose if he uses the local variant without expecting to achieve anything back. This confirms the view that this speaker's lack of motives to change his speech habits are responsible for his not giving any attention to the way of speech and proceeding in speaking the same way he grew up speaking.

Speaker 37 is 70 years old. This speaker also preserves the non-local variant throughout the interview. This speaker makes some use of the local variant [g] but not [ki]. We noticed through our analysis of this speaker with regard to the variable (Q) that his use of the local variant [g] was a result of accommodation or occurred in terms related to the purchasing process which standardly have the variant [g] without any implications on his part. This speaker cannot use the [ki] variant with us as a matter of accommodation as we are not a user of the local variant [ki]. So, this speaker uses what he grew up using without facing any factor that can interrupt this spontaneity and make him from time to time use the local variant [ki]. Notice, for example how this speaker in the following dialogue accommodates with us with regard to the variant [g] but uses the non-local variant [ik] even in the same sentence:

5.4

RE: /šu bitguulilha biDDabt lamma tzuurha bil9iid/

'What do *you say* to her exactly when you visit her in the Eid?'

S37: / šu biddi *agullha* Cul 9aam winti bxeer ya 9ammah *Ciifik* bahl9iid.

in Šaallah bxeer ya 9ammah. wallaah hai 9aaditna fi il9iid/

'What should I *say to her*?. Every year I hope you are well. *How are*

you in the Eid. I hope you are all right. By God, these are our

customs in the Eid.'

We notice that he says /Šu biddi agullha/ 'what should I say to her'. He uses the local variant [g] so as to accommodate with me. But then he shifts to use the non-local [ik] in /Ciifik/ 'how are you?'

Speaker 6 is 72 years old. He spent most of his life working as a farmer or an unskilled worker. He lives in Al Manshiyyah, the town where most of the immigrants live. He keeps in close contact with friends and relatives from the same native city. This speaker also does not use the local variant [ki] throughout the interview. We believe that the fact that this speaker has lived all his time in Manshiyyah enhances the likelihood of occurrences of the non-local variant in his speech, because he is surrounded by people of his own group and he is, thus, exposed to significant social pressure from them. According to Filipovic (2001), "the dialects of immigrants are retained best when the immigrants live in contact with their compatriots in larger groups . . . and dialects are lost more rapidly when the immigrants live scattered among other ethnic groups . . ." (Filipovic, 22001: 55). Chambers also notes the role of immobility in dialect preservation. According to Chambers "mobility causes people to speak and sound more like people from other places" (Chambers, 1995: 66).

Given this speaker's work experience, he did not have any real motives to ignore the social pressure from his group in favour of strengthening his status as a local person. His age also attracts pressure from his own group not to change his way of speech; in general the old are exposed to greater pressure not to abandon their way of speech (Al-Wer, 1991). His age similarly means that he will be excused by the local people if he does not make his speech conform to theirs.

Speaker 39, who shows readiness sometimes to use the local variant [g] uses the local variant [ki] only once. As his interlocutor (ourselves as the interviewer) does not use the local variant, this speaker finds no need to use the local variant himself as he has not already learned to use it. The fact that he is 58 years old means he came to the area when he was 5. That is, by the stage he had already learnt to use the non-local variant [ik] rather than the local one [ki]. In addition, his age reduces the possibility that he might use the local variant [ki] to increase the chances of his being perceived as local for the purpose of enhancing his position or opportunity to achieve political or social goals to which locality is crucial. This is because people tend not to have such motives and ambitions at this age in a society like that of Karak. Notice also that even with regard to the local variant [g], where accommodation strategy is triggered as a result of his speaking with a [g] user (the researcher), this speaker only uses it in very limited cases.

Females also show frequent use of the non-local variant [ik]. The three exceptional cases require more explanation.

Speaker 41 has a BA. She used the non-local variant [ik] throughout the interview. This speaker is one of three speakers who are [?] adopters. As a result, we believe that her use of the non local [ik] comes about as result of a desire to use the urban code rather than as a matter of concern to preserve the native dialect as the [ik] variant is also the variant used in the urban dialect. For example, she also abandoned the key feature of the Fallahi

dialect, namely, the [k] variant of the (Q) variable. The following conversation illustrates this:

5.5

RE:/biddi tiHkiili šway 9an ayyaam il9iid šu btiððakkri akθar iši winti Sġiirih/

'I want you to talk to me a little about the days of the Eid. What do you most remember when you were small?

S41: kaanu yjuu *?araaybna* wkunna nHibb infuut 9indhum 9ašaan y9Tuuna maSaari. marraat kaanu xwaali yHuttu lifluus 9aTTawli whummi mrawwHiin *y?uluuli* xudi *9idiytik* hakki 9aTTawlih xaaSSah xaali likbiir bazzakkar aktar iši/

'Our relatives used to come and we used to go where they were sitting so they could give us money. Sometimes my uncles used to put the money on the table and as they were leaving they used to *tell me*, 'Take *the money* on the table'. I especially remember my oldest uncle the most.

We notice that this speaker uses the urban variant [?] in /?araaybna/ 'our relatives'. She abandoned the native [k] in favour of the urban [?]. She then uses the variant [ik] in favour of the local [ki] aiming to identify herself with the urban code but not with the native code whose peculiar variant, namely, the [k] variant she has just appeared to abandon.

Speakers 42 and 48 also behave linguistically similarly. They both abandon the key feature [k] of the Fallahi dialect in favour of the urban dialect key feature [?]. In other words, they abandon the most important linguistic feature carrying implications related to

native identity. Consequently, their use of [ik] is an attempt to identify themselves with urbanity, not with their native Fallahi group as they have shown readiness to abandon the [k] variant, which is the key feature of their Fallahi dialect in favour of the urban variant [ʔ].

Speaker 27 works as a teacher and is aged 40. This speaker uses the variant [ik] throughout the interview except on three occasions, where she uses the SA variant [vki]. We believe that she uses the non-local variant [ik] throughout the interview because it is a part of her native non-local dialect, not because it reflects the urban dialect. Indeed this speaker does not use the key feature of the urban dialect as we saw in our discussion of the variable (Q) (chapter three, subsection 3.2.2). Notice that she uses the local variant [g] many times but does not use the local variant [ki] at all. We speculate that the use of [ik] does not necessarily imply one's being Fallahi and does not contradict with the local Jordanian identity at the macro level, as this variant is used in many other Jordanian dialects, allowing this speaker to make free use of the non-local variant [ik]. Furthermore, this speaker seems to express her desire to convey the social meaning of locality solely through her use of the powerful local variant [g]. The following extract shows how the local variant [g] and the non local [ik] are used together:

5.6

S27:/galli addaktuur ba9deen laazim ni9mal 9amaliyyih *la?iidik/*

'The doctor told me then that we have to have an operation

on *your hand'*

We notice that speaker 27 here uses the local variant [g] in /galli/ 'told me', however, she does not use the local variant [ki] in /ʔiidik/ 'your hand' but rather the non-local [ik]. This again confirms that the neutrality of the non-local variant [ik], which

could be the non-local urban variant, or the non local Fallahi variant, or even the variant of other local Jordanian dialects of other areas, allows it to appear in the speech of these to whom locality is of great importance.

Speaker 26, who works as a headmistress in one of the secondary schools in the area, used the [ik] variant throughout the interview. We noticed through our analysis of the variable (Q) that this speaker uses the SA variant [q] in most of the interview. According to Blanc, SA "is only at the disposal of educated speakers, [it] will lend the speech an elevated or semi-literary tone" (Blanc, 1964; cited in Mazraani, 1997: 11). This speaker sometimes shifts to the local variant [g]. We argued in the last chapter that the use of the variant [g] in her speech was necessitated by the need to appear local in an area where most of the headmistresses are themselves local. We believe that the non-use of the variant [ki] by this speaker is attributed to the fact that this would not necessarily negate her locality as the variant [ik] could also be used in other Jordanian dialects (for example the dialects used in the northern part of Jordan). This also makes us believe that the few cases where she uses the non-local variant [ik] can be attributed to the fact that they would not be considered odd and unexpected if used by a headmistress whose Jordanian identity is a pre-condition of her position. Notice that the variant [k] of the (Q) variable is never used in her speech, as this would have weakened her position as a local headmistress had it appeared. This is not the case with regard to the non-local variant [ik]. We believe that this slight difference between the two non-local variants, [k] and [ik] - the former is peculiar to Fallahis while the latter is not - is the factor that makes one of them appear and the other not.

Notice that with regard to the variable (Q), this speaker fluctuates only between the local variant [g] and the SA [q] of the (Q) variable. while with regard to the variable (Vki) she fluctuates between [ik], [ki] and the SA variant [vki]:

5.7

S26: *maalik* inti alyoom *ka?innik* ba9dik naaymih [speaking to another teacher].

'*What happened to you* today? It's as if *you are* still asleep'

T (teacher): wallaa miθil manti šaayfih SabbaHit miθl issakraanih wallaah kamaan galbi bidugg mana daaryih maaluh.

'By God as you see I woke up as if I was drunk. By God even when my heart beats I do not know what is happening to it.'

We notice that this speaker uses the non-local variant [ik] in /maalik/ 'what happened to you' where she would have said /malki/ had she wished to use the local variant [ki]. Notice also that the teacher with whom she talks uses the local dialect; thus she uses the local variant [θ] in miθil 'like', and [g] in galbi 'heart' and bidugg 'beats'. Accordingly, even where the context might create a possibility for accommodation, this does not happen.

We also notice that this speaker does not use SA in any other place in this conversation where this would be possible. This makes us believe that the use of SA by those who are described as educated is sometimes related to using a phonemic variant known to be SA and does not extend to sentences or even words with inflectional endings. Notice, for example, this speaker, who is classified in the educated-group, is a poet. Nevertheless, in this short conversation, most of the words she uses are colloquial and none of them is SA. These words include: /alyoom/ 'today and /naaymih/ 'asleep' which would have been pronounced /alyawm/, and /naa?imah/ had she used SA. In addition, the word /ba9dik/ 'still' is classified as colloquial while the SA equivalent is /maa zilti/ 'still'.

Speaker 10 tends not to use the local variant [ki] in her speech. While she appears to be one of those who use the SA [q] variant of the (Q) variable the most, she only uses the SA variant [vki] once. This confirms our argument that the use of SA is always a conscious decision and not a standard and natural way of speaking. This is because SA is always reflected by the use of words that have the SA variant [q]. When it comes to words which need inflectional endings to be recognized as SA, it becomes difficult to trace any examples of this type in the speech of those who are classified as SA speakers on the basis of the use of the [q] variant. This is the case with regard to the SA variant [vki]. Of all those who are seen to use the SA variant [q] (40 speakers), only 19 show use of the SA variant [vki] and in very limited cases – only once as a minimum and 4 as a maximum.

Speaker 4 is a housewife aged 65. This speaker is uneducated, has 8 children and spends most of her time, as most Arab women do at this age, in her house with her Fallahi husband. This speaker's most common daily contact is with her husband or with neighbours from the same group, a situation reflected in the fact that she is living in a neighbourhood which is named after her Fallahi clan. She also does not have a job where she can deal with new people. Chambers reports that "Sociolinguistic patterns, according to the principle of gender-based variability, are to some extent determined by the breadth of social and geographical contacts" (Chambers, 1995: 126). In addition, this speaker is of an age where she not only has little appetite to change, but also little ability to do so. Consequently, she maintains her own native dialect. Notice that even with the more salient variable, namely the (Q), this speaker maintains the native variant [k], which is much more stigmatised, salient, and in direct opposition to the key feature of the Karakis, namely the [g] variant. In other words, the fact that this speaker preserves the non-local variant [ik], as will be shown, could have been predicted since she appeared to maintain the stigmatised, non-local, and rural native variant [k]. In fact, speakers 3, 16, and 30 live

in very similar conditions. They are all uneducated, housewives and advanced in age. Their preservation of the non-local [k] predicts their preservation of the less stigmatised [ik]. And they do, actually, appear as [ik]-preservers. As social meaning is the determinant of one's linguistic choice and the importance of this particular choice does in fact locate in its linguistic identity rather than its phonemic form, we speculate that people behave similarly with regard to different variants which differ in form but are similar in social meaning. Moreover, two similar phonemes, and even the same phoneme, can obviously have different social meanings in two different areas and different languages. For example, while the [t] variant of the English (θ) variable is stigmatised in Philadelphia in that it is related to the working class (Kroch, 1996: 38-39), the variant [t] of the Arabic (θ) variable is preferred in Jordan Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon (Ibrahim 1986), in that it is related to urbanised people. Similarly, two different forms can have the same social meaning. Hence, Blom and Gumperz state that "Just as a particular term may refer to a round object in one group and a square object in another, so also the value of . . . utterances may vary. . . . the same term may indicate geographical distinctions in one community and symbolize social stratification elsewhere" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972: 418). It is not uncommon to convey the same social meaning by using different variants. Hence, social background can help to predict what phonetic form of a particular variable a particular person will choose and the chosen form will help to predict what other phonetic forms of other variables will be chosen even if the background during the second choice is not available. As a result, a chosen variant can help us know the social meaning a speaker is looking for and this can help us speculate about the background of a given speaker as well. To put it differently, the background of a speaker can help us to know the social meaning he is looking for and this can enable us to predict the variant to be chosen, once we know the different social meanings of the different variants. And vice versa, if we first know the variant chosen, this variant can tell us about

the social meaning sought by this speaker and this social meaning can tell us about the background of the speaker, or at least, can be a good indicator of this.

In addition, we believe that while the use of the [ki] variant confirms the identity of its user as a Karaki, in that it is only used in Karak, the use of the [ik] variant does not necessarily imply that its speaker belongs to the Fallahi group, as it could be used by other local Jordanian group living in Karak or in other Jordanian areas. We believe that this characteristic extenuates the negative effect of the use of the [ik] variant. Unlike, the [k] variant, the [ik] variant carries no necessary implications as to the cultural identity of the user of the variant. As such, it appears in the speech of many speakers classified as users of the local variant [g] as well as some of those who frequently accommodate to the local variant [g].

5.2 Accommodation to [ki]

Speakers 5, 18, and 25, i.e. 6%, accommodated regularly to [ki] throughout the interview. We will also deal with these speakers first as individuals then as a group

Table 5.2

Speakers	[ik]		[ki]		[vki]	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
18	6	19.4	22	71	3/	9.6
25	3	30	5	50	2	20
5	12/	63.1	7/	36.9	0/	0

We notice that speaker 18, who has been shown to use the local variant [g], as a result of his attempts to enhance his position among other Karakis as a sheikh in the Karak district, used the local variant [ki] (71%) even more frequently than he used the

local variant [g] (36.1%). We believe that as the main purpose of this speaker in using the local variant is to enhance his position as a local Karaki sheikh, thus, he uses the [ki] variant in 71% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Vki). The relatively limited use of the non-local variant [ik], as opposed to the non-local [k] in the speech of this speaker could be attributed to the fact that this variant is not peculiar to the Fallahi dialect. This means that its use does not necessarily carry a social meaning of the kind carried by [k] which is known to be peculiar to the Fallahi group. His main purpose in using a non-local variant with his group, i.e. making them feel that he is also one of them, would not be as strongly evidenced through the use of the widely used regional form [ik] as it is through the specifically local Fallahi form [k]. In other words, while his use of the local variant [ki] helps him to gain something, his non-use of the non-local variant [ik] does not necessarily make him lose anything.

The same thing is noticed with regard to speaker 25. Speaker 25 occupies a position in which locality is just as important to him as being educated; he is the deputy dean of the only community college in the Karak district. The use of the local variant [ki] is a pronounced feature of his speech; he uses it in 50% of the total occurrences of the variable (Vki). Even with his secretary, who belongs to the Fallahi group, he uses the local variant [ki]:

5.8

S25: /keef *Haalki*/.

'how are *you*?'

SE (secretary): /maaši/

'not bad'.

This use of the local variant [ki] with his secretary indicates that the use of this variant is related more to place than it is to person. Even her answer: /maaši/ 'not bad', which is an informal answer and indicates the close relation between them, does not in fact make him use the non-local variant [ik] in subsequent speech, which could be considered more suitable between two persons who belong to the same group, in that it reflects more intimate and solid relations. This also reflects priorities on his side. Pleasing a member of his group is no more important than appearing local.

Speaker 5, who is a member of the local council of one of the villages of the Karak district, also uses the local variant [ki] throughout the interview. This speaker is also a [g] adopter. But, while the use of the [k] variant, the perceived competing variant of the local variant [g], would have a lot of social implications, the use of [ik] is not perceived in exactly the same way as it is even used by Karakis themselves, since it is also a local variant and used in other local Jordanian dialects. We believe that the frequent use of the [ki] variant by this speaker is also motivated by his position as a member of a local council where most of the members are Karakis. Furthermore, in a tribal area like Karak district, it is still strange for a Fallahi to occupy a position which a Karaki is typically supposed to occupy and which was normally in the recent past only occupied by a Karaki - in other words, before the immigration of the Fallahis to the Karak district. Strictly speaking, his being Fallahi necessitates his using this local variant even more than the Karakis themselves might do. While it is possible for a Karaki to sometimes shift to the variant [ik] or even the SA [vki] without giving much attention to this, in that this would not negate the fact that he is a Karaki, a Fallahi, like speaker 5, may be wary of doing so.

Accordingly, we notice that the variant [ki] is used when it is important to appear Karaki in particular and not just Jordanian or Fallahi. Its use is linked with speakers to whom appearing Karaki is crucial. Of all the speakers who show readiness to use the [g]

variant, speakers 5, and 18, and 25 are the only ones who show a similar readiness to accommodate to [ki]. Speaker 5 is a member of a local council where even being Jordanian from another area is not acceptable because of the spirit of locality which dominates it. For example, till recently it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for the chairman of this local council not to be originally from the same area and belong to the biggest local tribe there. Speaker 18 is a sheikh at the local level where being Jordanian from another area would also be considered insufficient to be a sheikh. Gubser (1973) considered birth, kinship and tribal membership some of the most important characteristics which give an individual his status in Karak society. According to Gubser, one of the most important characteristics over which men have no choice and which plays a major role in determining their ability to be "sheikhs at the various tribal levels, sheikhs of the alliances, [and] sheikh al-masheikhs (sheikh of the sheikhs, paramount sheikh of Al-Karak) . . . is kinship and tribal membership. Because a man is considered as an extension of his kin and, to a lesser extent, of his tribe, the prestige and power of the group contribute greatly to his own position" (Gubser, 1973: 78).

We believe, the variant [ki], which is not only a local variant but also peculiar to KA is always used by those for whom it is very important to appear local, particularly the young, or where its use has multiple objectives; for example, where the ability to accommodate is an aim in itself in that it is a characteristic that should be a feature of anyone who claims to be a sheikh. For example, speaker 18 is one of the few who use the local variant [ki] amongst those who were shown to accommodate to the local variant [g]. The characteristic of being able to accommodate with others is an important one for anyone wishing to be involved in the affairs of others such as a sheikh. Accommodation for him is an aim in itself, which goes beyond the aim of pleasing just his interlocutor. It helps him appear a flexible person who is able to deal with others having different roots and origins and accommodate not only to their social customs and beliefs but also to their

linguistic behaviour as being a sheikh requires. As Gubser says in another situation "the leader [the sheikh] functioned as a mediator or, more often, an arbitrator upon the agreement of both parties" (Gubser, 1973: 77).

5.3 [ki]-adopters

As in the case in the local variant [g], we notice that the young stereotypically used the local variant [ki]. The [ki] variant is considered a marker in that it is readily perceived and has social significance. In addition, it is peculiar to KAD. It presents a "high degree of social awareness" and is well-recognized as a "linguistic marker" (Labov, 2001: 196). It seems that this peculiarity enhances its social significance, defined by Blom and Gumperz (1972: 417) as "the social value implied when an utterance is used in a certain context", and makes it a target for the young to whom such a value is extremely significant (Labov, 2001: 196).

The young Fallahi males use the non-local [ik] variant at a very low rate, 13.1%, while they use the local variant [ki] in 79.8% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Vki). This is because the local variant [ki] is the variant of power and they are at an age where competition with other local people over daily affairs, such as job opportunities, in which local identity plays a crucial role, is at its highest level. Thus, though we agree with Labov that "there is little solid evidence to date that the way a person speaks has a serious influence on their life chances" (Labov, 2001, 196), we believe that this is true in practical terms, but not psychological ones. In other words, the way you speak is not "a factor in hiring and firing, promoting and demoting a person on the job" (Labov, 2001: 196), in that non-locals are given the same chance as locals. Nonetheless, we believe that non-locals feel that they are envied and looked upon as people who take what is not theirs to take, as they are not originally from the area though they have full citizenship. As a result, we believe that their attempt to adopt the locals'

way of speech is an attempt to enhance and justify this right but not a means to achieve it. In other words, this way of speaking does not in itself get them appointed to a particular post but might be used by them to justify this appointment, in which case it is to be considered psychological rather than practical.

In addition, the young, in general, tend to mix with the local community, through participating in the different local activities among which are clubs, schools, and not least the daily activities of the neighbourhood. Blom and Gumperz consider domestic life and friendships one of the most important 'spheres' where dialect is acquired (Blom and Gumperz, 1972: 417), while Milroy and Milroy indicate males' natural tendency to use the local variant. According to Milroy and Milroy, "Males appear to favour more localized variants which carry some kind of identity-based social meaning in the local community" (Milroy and Milroy, 1997: 55). We also believe that in tending to adopt the local variant young males sometimes do not aim at anything beyond a desire to reflect youthfulness; in this context, this can only be confirmed by expressing the variant that also confirms locality. In other words, appearing non-local diminishes the young's tendency to seem powerful among their age peers. Their use of the local variant sometimes has nothing to do with their intended future status. It is a merely a youthful desire that might become a persistent habit. For example, some young people use certain Karaki words which are being abandoned by many of the local population due to a desire to appear more local; certain words which are rarely used by Karakis today are used by some young educated Fallahi repeatedly in the interview. For example, speaker 20:

5.9

RE: /mumkin zidnaaha 9aleek bilas?ilah/

'Perhaps we have asked you too many questions'

S20: /*wilweeh* ya astaað manta shaayifna faaDyiin/

'*Why*, as you can see we have nothing to do'

A word like /wilweeh/ 'why', which is tending to be abandoned by some Karakis is used by speaker 20.

Speaker 20 is 20 years old. He is uneducated and works as a salesman in a clothes shop. This speaker stereotypically uses the local variant [ki] regardless of the dialect used by the customers. For example, in the following dialogue between this speaker and one of his customers who uses the urban dialect we notice that he uses [ki] through out the discussion:

5.10

C(ustomer): wallaahi ida samaHit ti9Tiini aHsan noo9 miš

ti9mal zai jaarak/

'If you please, give me the best quality. Do not do like what

your neighbour did'

S20: /šu *badki* inti miš bitgulli *badki* aHsan noo9.

xalaaS twakkali 9allaah/

'What do *you want* ? Don't *you want* the best quality, that's

it, depend on God.'

C: wimitil ma bit?uul rxiiS

'and as you say, cheap'

S20:yam liffi issuug kulluh iða ilgiiti arxaS minnuh min

Hagki trajj9ih

'Go round the market. If you find anything cheaper

than it, you have the right to give it back.'

The customer uses the urban dialect. Notice, for example, the words: ida 'if' which has the urban variant [d] instead of the local variant [ð], /wimitil/ 'as' which has

the urban variant [t] instead of the local variant [θ], and the word /bit?uul/ 'you say', which has the urban [?] variant of the variable (Q). Nevertheless, speaker 20 uses the local variant [ki] in all the three words which have the variable (Vki): /badki/ 'you want' (repeated twice), and /Hagki/ 'your right'. It is also worth noticing with regard to this speaker that the SA variant has no chance of occurring in that he is uneducated.

We also believe that in this tribal society the private sector is still perceived to be something that is to be dominated by the local people of the area. In other words, Karakis and only Karakis are to have something to do with the market. Consequently, proving that they are Karakis becomes an aim for those Fallahis working in the market. As a result, for the Fallahis, who work in the market, any means that helps them achieve this aim will inevitably be followed. Using [ki] is one of the best linguistic means to achieve this aim. The following dialogue is also recorded in the same market place with another young Fallahi salesman. The dialogue takes place between him and one of his customers. It shows not only that [ki] is used by Fallahis working in the market as a strategy to prove that they are Karakis, but also that it is exaggeratedly used:

5.11

S22: *bagulki baagiiki* 9aTTaawlih bass inti ma smi9ti. allaah ysaamHik.

šu ya9ni biddi *asrukki.*

'*I told you* that *your change* is on the table but you did

not hear. God forgive you. What do you think; I want to *rob you*?'

CU: la9aad ana aasfih. wallaah altaxamit. bitquul Hagguh arba9ah

wbastannah maa Šuftak a9Teetni iŠi

'I am sorry. I swear to God that I got confused. You say it

costs four [Jordanian Dinars] and I waited, but I did not see

you give me anything.'

We notice in this dialogue that speaker 22 uses the local variant [ki] three times in one sentence. Note also that he could have more easily used other words that do not have this variant. For example, he could have said /bagulki albaagi/, instead of /bagulki baagiiki/ without revealing that he was not originally Karaki. In addition, we believe that the nature of the discussion with the customer also necessities projecting himself as a Karaki so as to strengthen his position given that he has been accused by the customer of not giving her change.

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Speaker 19 is 25 years old. He has a BA degree. He works as a salesman in a big private company, owned by a Fallahi. Since this is a private company, and since the owner is a Fallahi, we believe that local identity will not be very effective in helping the speaker to progress in his job. Nevertheless, this speaker uses the local variant [ki] throughout the interview. This makes us believe that it is not true that the use of the local variant is always purposive. Given that this speaker works in a company owned by a Fallahi, the non-local Fallahi dialect should be more suitable in this context. Our point is that there are objective factors which are to be considered in our analysis regarding the adoption of the local variants by the young. These factors include the degree of contact, the degree of sensitivity toward identity, and personal inclination. All these factors are to be considered when interpreting the used code. Speaker 19 does not even use the SA variant [vki] though he is educated and has a university degree. Had he intended to abandon the local variant, he could have done so without any implications through simply using the SA variant as a neutral device.

Speaker 13, who is seen to use the local variant [g] throughout the interview, is also seen to use the local variant [ki] though he works in a humble job which involves only minimal competition with others. This makes us believe that there are certain other objective reasons for the use of the local variant and that its use is not always to be related

to motives of personal ambition. These objective reasons include one's being exposed to a certain dialect rather than another or a desire to be included in the dominant group as an aim in itself. Speaker 13 works as an electrical car mechanic. Thus, it is not necessary for him to prove that he is Karaki in that, unlike commerce or government employment, being a car mechanic is not a big ambition for Karakis. Still, it is possible that his individual desire for inclusion within the dominant group expresses itself linguistically. Traders try to enhance their locality so as to protect themselves in the market, which has become the target of Karakis' ambitions who have seen how it has financially changed the life of the Fallahis. This speaker, however, does not have such fears. Thus, "the local dialect which has great prestige and is recognized as a hallmark of local identity and pride in the community" (Mazraani, 1997: 7) could be an aim in itself.

Among [ki] adopters there are a considerable number of females. Most of these female speakers are housewives, teachers, and students. This enhances our belief that the use of the local variant is not always related to the ambition to achieve a particular social position. The inclusion of these Fallahis in the larger dominant group, which involves adopting their linguistic forms, is a natural process. We do not think that the adoption by some housewives of the local variant is part of a strategy to enhance their position in society or their place of work, for example. Rather, we believe that it sometimes comes about as a natural result of spending their childhood and school days with local peers, who are more numerous, and whose dialect, accordingly, is dominant. To demonstrate this, the background of these speakers will be investigated in detail.

Speaker 29 is a housewife. She uses the local variant in 100% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Vki). We do not believe that this speaker is exposed to any factor that can have a role in affecting her way of speech. Thus, she has carried on using the variant which all of the objective motives require her to use: studying in a local school where the majority are local students, living in an area dominated by the biggest southern

Karaki clan, namely Al Tarawnih, and having no higher education which would have increased the likelihood of her adopting features from SA in her speech and the chances of her being affected by other students' speech habits.

Speaker 34 also uses the [ki] variant throughout the interview. Her use of the [ki] variant could also be used as an indicator of the fact that this variant is still widely acceptable and used in the area; this speaker uses it throughout the interview, despite the fact that given her age (23) and sex (female), she is likely to be very concerned to follow what is acceptable for a young female and to avoid what might be considered unacceptable. Indeed, we believe that this speaker deliberately chooses this variant, since it would be perfectly easy for her to shift to the non-local variant without arousing the social sensitivity of the kind that may be caused by the use of the non-local [k] variant, in that it is not a direct marker of identity of the Fallahi group, in particular. Even with a story related to her mother, who is a Fallahi and uses the native Fallahi dialect, in an answer to our inquiry to tell us something interesting which happened to her in the past, she used the local variant [ki] in her speech. This indicates the strength of her attachment to this variant:

(5.12)

S34: / gult lammi *bagulilki* haaða bayyaa9 ġaššaaš wsaragna.
ma raddat 9alayih Hatta gultlha wallaah baruuH 9aššurTah
laHaali. yumma miŠ heek *gultilki taamanik* Saddagti/
'I told my mother that I *tell you* this salesman is a cheat
and he robbed us. She did not agree with me, so I told her that
I swear to God I will go to the police by myself. [Then she looked
at her mother who was sitting with us and said to her.] My

Mother, did not I *say that till* you believed me?'

Notice this speaker uses the local variant in her house and in face-to-face conversation with a non-local user (the researcher) and her mother, who also uses the Fallahi dialect. She said: /bagulilki/ 'I tell you'. The non-local variant is /bagullik/, and the SA is /aquulu laki/. Speaker 34 might have used the non-local [ik] as part of a strategy of accommodation with us but did not. This again confirms our argument that the factor of identity is not crucial in determining one's speech among the Fallahi people. This speaker was interviewed in her house, many of her relatives were present during the interview, and a part of her speech, where the local variant [ki] appears was directed to her mother. Nevertheless, the local variant is used throughout the interview. Even the strategy of accommodation, known to trigger the use of variants other than one's own, does not affect this speaker's way of speech.

Having discussed the informants individually, we will now have a look at them according to their distribution in terms of three social variables: age, sex, and education.

Table 5.3 The distribution of the variable (Vki) by age and sex.

Sex	M							F						
Age	[ki]	%	[ik]	%	[vki]	%	T	[ki]	%	[ik]	%	[vki]	%	T
Young	91	79.8	15	13.1	8	7.1	114	53	60	31	35	4	5	88
Middle	66	50.7	55	42.3	9	6.9	130	37	38.5	51	53.1	8	8.3	96
Old	0	0	120	93.8	8	6.2	128	0	0	107	95.5	5	4.5	112

Table 5.3 shows that males of the young age group used the local variant [ki] in

79.8% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Vki) and the non-local variant [ik] in 13.1%.

SPSS analysis confirms that age is very significant in the use of the [ki] variant ($p<.5$ while $p<.000$ for the age).

We believe first that the use of the local variant [ki] by young males has the same main aim as the use of the variant [g] - appearing as local. The first priority of young males is to advance in their society and to prove that they are no less local than anybody else in the Karak district. Proving that they are local is not an aim in itself. It is a means to protect them from losing anything for which locality is important, such as feeling that they have equal rights with regard to job opportunities, and participation in local events and activities. We insist on the word 'feeling', as, actually, they are all officially Jordanians with full citizenship, thus allowing them to compete on the same basis as any other local citizen with regard to any job opportunity or other social activity. Indeed, their way of speech has no role in diminishing or augmenting these opportunities. However it is natural for an originally non-local minority living among another originally dominant local group to feel that speech is important. The fact that the non-local variant [ik] is sometimes used (13.1% of occurrences), unlike the non-local variant [k], can be attributed to the fact that [ik] does not carry as strong a meaning of non-locality as the non-local [k], which is peculiar to Fallahi speech.

We believe that the social prestige derived from whether one belongs to a big tribe or not is the main cause of the desire to abandon what is non-local and adopt what is local. Indeed, job opportunity in its narrow sense of making good money and establishing a good social position could not be a realistic interpretation of this tendency. One cannot achieve a sense of identity by success at the individual level. Gubser notes that in Karak, "A man's identity is more strongly attached to [the] group than to any other; for the behaviour of an individual is considered to be the extension of that of his kin, and,

conversely, the actions of a man's blood relatives heavily reflect upon him" (Gubser, 1973: 42). Thus, we are not surprised to learn that one of the well educated Fallahi informants complained that he had been accused by a local colleague of having a tribal inferiority complex. This was simply because this Fallahi did not belong to a big local tribe and he wanted to express his point of view toward some of the tribal customs, which are condemned even by the local people. But as he did not belong to a big tribe, his point of view was interpreted as jealousy and an attempt to reduce the value of something which he did not possess.

5.13

/baHkiilu innu hal9aadaat muklifih wma bisiir innu miit waaHad yjli
9aŠaan gariibhum gatal waaHad min 9aŠiirih θaanyih willa
hu biHkiili ma9 innu kaan ymzaH Daahiriyyan inta btiHki
heek li?innu 9indak naqS 9aŠaa?iri
'I told him that these customs are costly and it is not fair that one
hundred people migrate from one area to another simply because
one of their relatives killed another man from another tribe. Accordingly
he said to me, pretending to be joking, 'You have a tribal inferiority
complex' [meaning that because he does not belong to a big tribe he is
psychologically suffering from this complex].

The point which emerges from this dialogue is that belonging or not belonging to a big local tribe could in itself be the problem. Thus, "the hypothesis suggests itself", as Blom and Gumperz (1972: 417) put it, that only by using the local way of speech can one at least feel that he belongs, not least among those who do not know one's original identity. Therefore, locality is the cornerstone of any significant social position, rather than money or a title, which may be empty of content without the prestige which comes from

belonging to a big local tribal group. Hence, locality becomes an aim in itself and local variants are accordingly adopted.

This is the norm in Karak society. No amount of money can confer a good social position. Only such things as the possession of a large amount of land, which provide wealth without the need to work, can guarantee such a position. This is because land means locality. Unsurprisingly, Gubser (1973) reports that "wealth honourably gained enhances status, whereas wealth gained by trade gives only a minimal political advantage . . . honourably gained wealth permitting one not to work gives the highest prestige, then, in descending order, come middle-and small-sized landowners, soldiers, very poor farmers, and artisans and merchants" (Gubser, 1973: 79). Though Gubser indicates a considerable change to this ranking in the contemporary period, we believe its psychological impact still exists. The Fallahis are the group who dominate the market and are the most successful traders (Gubser, 1973; Qasim and Khaleel, 1996). Yet, locality is achievable not by money but by the linguistic forms one uses.

Table 5.3 shows that the local variant [ki] of the variable (Vki) appears in 60% of the total number of its occurrences in the speech of young females, while the non-local variant [ik] appears in 35%. That the local [ki] variant appears in the speech of young females is not unexpected as other local variants, such as the powerful local [g] variant are also used by them. But, unlike the non-local variant [k], the non-local variant [ik] also appears in the speech of the young females. This could be attributed to the fact that the non-local and the rural connotations which are attached to the variant [k] are not attached to the variant [ik]. Indeed, this variant is even used in the urban dialect in Jordan. Given that they are both similar in age and that the difference between both sexes is relatively high in the use of the [ik] variant, 35% for females and only 13.1% for males, it becomes obvious that sex as such is very significant in the use of the [ik] variant in this age group in particular. Notice that the difference is very small with regard to the [ik] variant

between males and females in the middle and old age groups as table 5.3 above shows.

With regard to males in the middle age group, we notice a drastic fall in the rate of use of the local variant [ki]. They used the local variant [ki] in 50.7% of the total occurrences of the variable (Vki). The non-local variant [ik] was used in 42.3% and the SA variant [vki] in 6.9% of occurrences.

Notice that many speakers in this age group, such as speakers 18 and 23, were originally users of the [ik] variant in that they are over 56 years old. This means that they were born in their country and grew up using the non local variant [ik]. This explains why the percentage of use of [ik] in this age group is much higher compared to that among young males. However, the fact that it is lower than the rate found among the older age group is attributed to the fact that there are other speakers in this age group who are younger and were born in Karak.

That the local variant [ki] is used fairly frequently is attributed to the fact that this variant formed and still forms an important factor in the social as well as the business life of some of the speakers in this age group due to the importance of locality to them. Examples are speakers 5, 18, and 25. In other words, in this age group a number of factors push in opposite directions leading to the existence of the local as well as the non-local variants in very similar percentages. While age causes some in this age group to tend to preserve the non-local variant, the nature of the job or the social position of others make accommodation to the local variant a necessity.

The table also shows that females in this age group use the non-local variant [ik] in 53.1%, the local variant [ki] in 38.5%, and the SA variant [Vki] in 8.3% of occurrences.

We notice a relatively high rate of the use of the non-local variant [ik]. We also attribute this to the existence of some speakers in this age group who are relatively close to the age of the old. They thus tend to preserve the non-local variant. This preservation could be affected by two factors, we speculate. The first is the speaker's tendency toward

the use of the SA variant as a result of a high degree of education and being involved in jobs where a high level of Arabic is required. Speakers 26 and 27 represent this kind of case. The second is the tendency of the speaker to use the local variant as a result of her being involved in a job where locality is also important, for example being a headmistress of a local school. Despite these factors, the local variant is less used than it is among males of this age group. We attribute this to the fact that many male speakers in this age group are involved in social activities and work which necessitate the use of the local variant [ki]. This confirms the need to recognise that what is important about the difference between males and females is not their being different biologically but the different social expectations imposed on them. So, the differences in the social roles of men and women mean that men but not women can be members of the local council or get involved in fights. Such roles make it more important for men than women to use the local variant. In other words, if women were allowed socially to fulfil such social roles, they would be expected to behave linguistically differently.

Where these factors do not exist, the non-local variant emerges. Thus, speaker 38, for example, used the non-local variant throughout the interview. In other words, the use or non-use of a variant is to a great extent, related to the individual's personal background. It is difficult to group individuals and then generalise about the use or non-use of variants because this is more closely related to them as individuals than as group members.

The difference in the rate of use of the local and non-local variants between males and females in the middle age group confirms again the necessity of looking at the differences between sexes on social rather than biological grounds. Again this is related to self-actualisation. Males in this age group are still at an age where they are involved in the affairs of daily life and seek promotion. Identity is an important determinant of this. The use of the local variant [ki] is an important factor which can push in this direction. What confirms this for us is our awareness of the members of this group through

individual analysis. Unlike the old, they are still advancing in their jobs and most of them are still full of ambition. This confirms that in dealing with gender we are dealing with its social rather than its biological aspect. For example, we believe that what causes speaker 25 to make repeated use of the local variant [ki] is the fact that he is a deputy dean, and locality is necessary for him to advance in his job, not his being male or female. If a woman were to occupy his same position we expect that she would behave in the same manner linguistically. This is because it would also be necessary for her to appear local in this competitive situation, where identity plays a major role in favouring one side against another. What makes women behave differently from men linguistically is the roles they are allowed to play in Karak society and the ambitions which they can achieve. We believe that the roles which are monopolised by men rather than women in this age group in this society have a major influence on the different linguistic behaviour of the two sexes. For example, social, political and financial life which are major factors in fulfilling ones ambitions are areas only open to men. Women lack these factors which would enhance the importance of identity for them. Accordingly, women's linguistic behaviour reflects this tendency to make identity emerge through patterns of speech. In particular, women are innovative in ways that are related to their society's expectations; being soft and urbanised. The expectation of what Fallahi women can achieve is derived from what Karaki women can achieve. In Karak society women do not expect to be a deputy dean like speaker 25; nor do they expect to be a member of the local council like speaker 5; nor do they expect to be a sheikh of their clan like speaker 18, who also owns one of the biggest companies in Karak. These roles are to a great extent determined by the society and accordingly so is linguistic behaviour. The role of Fallahi women is determined from the outset. Accordingly, the women of the group under investigation realise themselves within the space which is allowed to them. So, they adopt these linguistic features which can help them succeed within that space. Women of this age are in positions which make

appearing local not so important. Most of them are housewives, like speaker 38, or a teacher in a school, like speaker 27, where appearing educated could be much more important than appearing local.

The members of the old age group use the non-local variant [ik] in 100% of the total number of occurrence of the variable (Vki). The rate of the occurrence of the local variant [ki] is 0%. It seems that the factor of age, as we have seen with regard to the [g] variant, together with lack of motives to confirm locality, play the major roles in the absence of the variant [ki] in the speech of this age group. Age, as we have seen, is shown in many studies (Al Khatib, 1988; Al Wer, 1991) to be a major factor in non-use of innovation. Le Page (1997) noted that an individual's tendency toward language shift could be constrained by four factors among which are motives and age. According to Page, "Individuals create their linguistic systems so as to resemble those of the group or groups they wish from time to time to be identified with, or so as to distinguish themselves from those they wish to distance themselves from. Their success in doing so is subject to constraints ...[such as] the strength of their motivation, which is likely to be multidimensional; and their ability to change their behaviour - possibly mainly a function of age" (Le Page, 1997: 28-29). On the one hand, members of this age group are exposed to much greater social pressure by their own group than any other age group to maintain their native dialect. On the other hand, people at this age, in a society like that of Karak, lack any real motives to accept the challenge of change as a result of the lack of any ambition which might be dependent on local identity and its implications. Even if that ambition did exist, the extremely strong social pressure upon them would make any reward that might be gained less important than the cost incurred in gaining this reward. We also believe that the non-use of the local variant [ki] can also be attributed to the fact that the strategy of accommodation also has no place in their speaking with us as we are not a [ki] user. Unlike the variant [g], where there were some attempts by speakers in this

age group to accommodate to our speech, as we use the [g] variant, the variant [ki] is peculiar to Karakis and is not the variant we use.

We also believe that the awareness of these people of identity and its meaning was also low when they were at an age in which it would have been possible for them to change their speech norms. Most of these speakers were illiterate when they came to the area. Even the indigenous Karaki population had only a basic awareness of identity and its implications when the Fallahis first arrived in their area (Gubser, 1973). This meant that the Fallahis did not pay much attention to language or the messages it might convey. When such implications started to emerge and to be conveyed by different dialects as a result of political and social developments in the area, these people were at an age where they were unlikely to change their speech habits. These people's lack of awareness of these implications, we believe, also played a role in their not bothering to interfere in their children's way of speaking - something which led most of their children to almost completely adopt the indigenous people's way of speaking. Accordingly, the local variant [ki] is widely used by Fallahis of the younger generations.

As noted earlier, the non-local variant [ik], is not negatively perceived by the Karakis in that it is also used in other Jordanian dialects and not peculiar to the Fallahis. However, this does not seem to play any role in the older generation's use of it. This is because these old people also widely use the non-local [k] variant even though this is specific to Fallahis. So, we do not think that any other factors, apart from age and lack of ambition, are responsible for the preservation of the non-local variant [ik] by the old.

We also notice that the local variant [ki] is absent in the speech of both sexes of the old age group. So the difference in sex does not have any significance in predicting the variant used in this instance. SPSS analysis shows that sex has very low significance in the use of the local variant [ki] ($p<.05$ while $p<.063$ for sex).

That both sexes behave similarly with regard to this variant makes us believe that age is the factor that has the final word in its absence in the speech of the old. SPSS analysis and Figure 5.1 below confirm this conclusion. SPSS analysis shows that age is very significant in the use of the variant [ki] ($p<.05$ while $p<.000$ for age). Figure 5.1 also shows that the older the speaker is the less is his or her use of the [ki] variant. It also shows that the [ki] variant is used the least in the old age group while the peak is located in the young age group. Figure 5.2 shows that the older the speaker is the greater his or her use of the [ik] variant; the peak is located among old speakers.

Figure 5.1

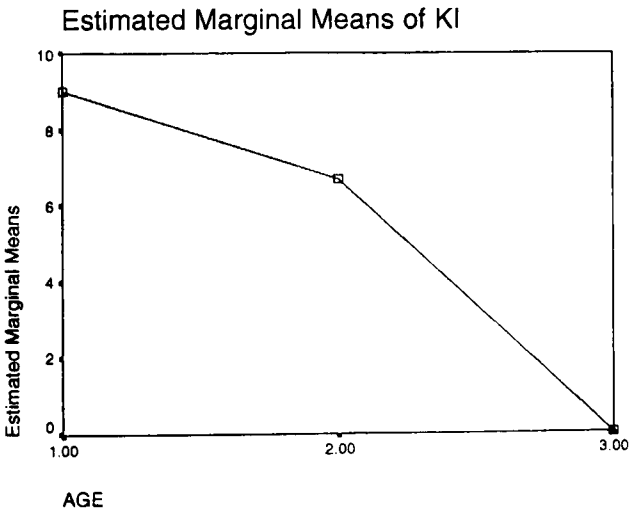
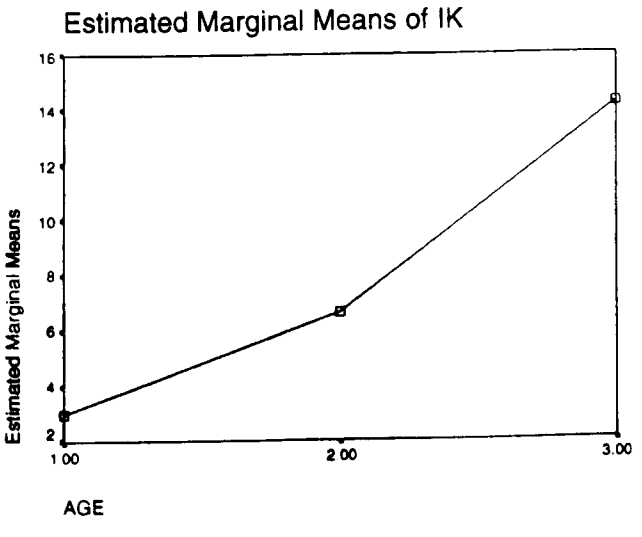


Figure 5.2



5.4 Level of education.

Table 5.4 shows that the variant [vki] is used at a very low rate in the speech of the uneducated group, at only 0.9 %. This is not surprising as most studies in the Arab world (Abdel Jawad, 1981; Al Khatib, 1988; Al Wer, 1991) show a strong correlation between level of education and the use of SA variants. This is because SA variants are almost always only attainable through schooling (Al Khatib, 1988; Al-Wer, 1991).

Accordingly, we notice that the rate of use of [vki] rises in the educated group to 10.1% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (Vki). The fact that this variant involves the use of a case ending makes its rate even relatively low in the speech of the educated speakers. Indeed, even the intermediate form of Arabic, used by educated Arabs, which is described by Ferguson (1959) as having highly classical (i.e. Standard Arabic) vocabulary has few or no inflectional endings with a fundamentally colloquial base in morphology and syntax (Ferguson, 1959; see also El Hassan, 1977: 113). The difficulty of producing correct inflectional endings is perhaps partly responsible for the low rate of use of this SA variant as compared to the SA variant [q] of the variable (Q) above, which only requires replacing a colloquial variant with this SA variant.

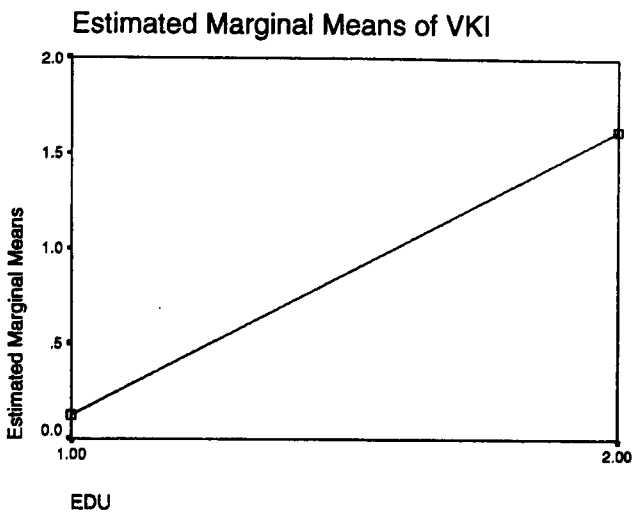
Table 5.4: The use of [ki], [ik], and [vki] by education

Education	[ki]	%	[ik]	%	[vki]	%	T
E	156	40.5	190	49.4	39	10.1	385
UE	121	38.4	191	60.6	1	0.9	315

Regardless of the fact that that the rates of use of the standard variant are relatively low, its pattern of use, reflecting different levels of education, is in line with most studies. The SA variant is found to be used most among the educated group. Education has very powerful significance in the use of the SA variant [vki] ($p<.05$ while

p< .000 for level of education) and Figure 5.3 shows that the peak of its use is located in the E age group.

Figure 5.3



With regard to the non-local variant [ik], we notice that it is used in 60.6% of the total number of occurrences in the speech of the uneducated group and 49.4% in the speech of the educated group. Its highest rate is thus found in the speech of the uneducated. SPSS analysis shows that education in fact has very low significance in the use of the [ik] variant (p<.05 while p<.983 for age). We attribute this high rate of the use of the [ik] variant in the uneducated group i) to the old speakers who are uneducated and who are found to preserve the [ik] variant as it is the variant of their native dialects or ii) to some speakers in the middle age group who also show persistent use of the [ik] variant as it is the variant of their native dialect.

In other words, age again appears to be the ultimate determining factor in the distribution of the non-local variant.

With regard to the local variant [ki], table 4.4 shows that it is used in 38.4% of the total number of occurrences of the variable (vki) among the uneducated group and it is used in 40.5% among the educated group. SPSS analysis shows that education also has very low significance in the use of the [ki] variant (p<.05 while p<.980 for education).

Young males, who appear to adopt the local [ki] variant the most (they use it in 79.8%, of the total number of occurrences of the (Vki) variable), appear to do so whether they are educated or uneducated. In addition, speakers of the old age group appear to avoid it whether they are educated or uneducated.

5.5 Conclusion

With regard to the (Vki) variable, we notice that the non-local variant [ik] is used to a great extent by the old, who preserve this variant throughout the interview. We believe that age is a major factor in this result as it weakens one's ability to change the way of speech which one grew up using. In addition, social pressure also has an impact. The old are more subject to social pressure to preserve their way of speech than other age groups. The lack of motive is also believed to be responsible for the non-use of the local variant [ki] in the speech of the old.

The non-local variant [ik] is also seen to be frequently used by young female speakers, who were shown to be [?] adopters in the previous chapter. With regard to these speakers, we believe that they use the non-local variant as an attempt to identify themselves with the code of prestige, not as an attempt to preserve a native variant. This is because they are shown to have abandoned the key feature of the native dialect, the [k] variant of the (Q) variable, when that proved possible and to have adopted the urban variant [?] in its place.

Some speakers in the middle age group also make some use of the non-local variant [ik]. These speakers do not use the non-local variant frequently, since they need to accommodate to the local variant as their social or job positions require. We believe that the presence of motives to appear as local among some speakers in this age group is responsible for their use of the local variant [ki]. On the other hand, the social pressure that they might be exposed to by their fellows Fallahis, as they are relatively old, in

addition to a personal desire to maintain their association with their group, is responsible for their use of their native variant [ik].

The local variant [ki] is seen to be used the most by young people of both sexes. The tendency of the young to want to appear as local or no less local than any of their age peers among the Karakis is the major motive behind this adaptation. Young females once again appear to be the innovators in the direction of adopting forms that are associated with urbanisation and softness. While young men use the non-local variant [ik] only in 13.1, preferring the local variant [ki], among young females there are some who use the non-local variant [ik] throughout the interview.

Chapter 6:
Conclusion, Interaction between variables And Recommendation

6.1 Conclusion

The central purpose of our study has been to highlight the pattern of variation existing in the speech of the Fallahis in Karak and to test if this pattern of variation correlates with particular linguistic and extra linguistic factors. We have been particularly interested in the sociological factors of age, sex and level of education. The linguistic variables which have been of central concern in this study are:

1- (Q), the reflex of the voiceless uvular stop /q/ in Standard Arabic.

2- (K), the reflex of the voiceless velar stop /k/ in Standard Arabic and many dialects.

3- The 2nd person feminine singular pronoun, pronounced as /Vki/ in Standard Arabic, and as /ik/ in most Arabic dialects. Here the initial V stands for either the nominative case-suffix /u/, or the accusative case-suffix /a/, or the genitive case-suffix /i/.

In our study we found how the socio-political developments which have taken place in Jordan have played a major role in drawing up the linguistic picture of Jordan in general and that of Karak in particular. This has happened as a result of the fact that after a relatively long period of contact between the Karakis and the Fallahis and, thus between their dialects, and as a result of socio-political developments which took place in Jordan, different social connotations started to be attached to the variants of the different linguistic variables. An additional factor in these changes is social status of the groups using these variants. So we noticed for example that the [g] variant which was until the very recent past perceived as the variant of toughness and rurality has become the best means to represent locality, and thus power.

With regard to the variable (Q), we have found that:

1- Young males use the local [g] variant in a very high proportion (89.1%) of the total number of occurrences of the (Q) variable. We also found that young females use the [g] variant in 47.9% of the total number of occurrences of the (Q) variable, which is also a fairly high proportion. This could be attributed to the fact that most of the population of this area is drawn from Bedouin tribes where [g] is dominantly used. This means those who use a non-local variant would be perceived to go against the norm. In addition, the use of the local variant [g] can enhance the feeling of locality, and thus the sense of power which is required by young males.

2- A reasonable proportion of young females appear to innovate in their linguistic behaviour in that they make their speech conform to the urban standard by choosing [?] in stead of the traditional [k] variant. Young females use the non-local urban [?] variant in 23.9% of the total number of occurrences of the (Q) variable.

3- Young informants use the [k] variant in 6% of occurrences, which is a very low rate. This is attributed on the one hand to the fact that it is the rural Fallahi norm. On the other hand the use of [k] could make them appear to disassociate themselves from the local group, giving the impression that they were less local than their Karaki peers.

4-When Fallahi females use the urban variant [?] they aim to identify themselves with the code of prestige in that they use the non-local urban variant and not the non-local rural variant. If identity were to be taken as the aim the variant [k] would be considered more suitable for this purpose in that it is used only in the Palestinian dialects as a variant of (Q).

The old preserve the native non-local variant [k]. While the young show some tendency towards the use of the non-local urban variant [?], none of the old show such a tendency. Thus, it becomes clear that the innovators are found among the young age group. Young people of both sexes appear to be the most enthusiastic to start using the different variants. This innovation was initiated by young people but has moved in different directions. The determinant of this is to a great extent what society expects from them. In Karak community, men are expected to be tough and strong while women are expected to be soft. Under such an assumption, the variant [g] was found to be the best to suit men while the urban variant [?] was found to be more suitable for females. The variant [g] is the one to which connotations of rurality and locality were previously attached. From the previously negatively perceived social connotation of rurality the now positively perceived connotation of toughness is drawn (as toughness is related to what is rural) and from the social connotation of locality the connotation of identity is derived. The variant [?], which is associated with modernity and emancipation, most effectively conveys the sense of softness, the characteristic which is expected from female speakers in the Karak community. While young men achieve what is expected from them through using the [g] variant, females proceed to achieve what is expected from them through using the [?] variant. Thus, the innovating process takes place in two different forms. With regard to [g], it takes the form of maintaining the use of this on the grounds of the newly attached connotation of it as the variant originally used by Karakis and, thus the most suitable variant for Jordanian identity. Given this, it is not unexpected to find that a high percentage of the young age group of both sexes are adopters of the [g] variant. With regard to [?], we find that it is only females who have started adopting this variant. The [?] variant is adopted by some females as they are not implicated in Karak society by the two new social

connotations attached to [g]. On the one hand, they are meant to be soft rather than tough. On the other, Jordanian identity, which [g] has started to symbolize, has come about as a result of political developments in which women have no part, as the participation of women in such events is almost nil. The use of [k] by the old can also be interpreted on the same ground. This could be interpreted on the grounds that the old are much more criticized socially than the young if they make their speech conform to any colloquial other than their own. Thus the social pressure for them to maintain [k] is very strong. Those who originally used [k] find it difficult to vary between it and [?] or between it and [g]. In the first case, they would be criticized for using the urban variant [?] for their rural variant [k]. The process, would be perceived as an attempt to claim an urban identity by a person who is of rural origin.

The [q] variant is seen to be used the most among the middle age-group. It is found among the age group that have already started their work life and have advanced in their jobs and personal affairs and where ambition is supposed to be associated with wisdom and reality. Appearing educated is no less important than appearing local. They are not among the young for whom the [g] variant is exclusively important, nor are they among the old, for whom the preservation of [k] is almost inevitable due to age and social pressure. All factors operate together, playing different roles in the use or non-use of different variants. For example, while the factor of education plays a role in the appearance of [q] in the educated group, the factor of age eases the use of it; they do not have much social pressure against the abandonment of the native non-local [k] variant as they are not old, and they are not among the young for whom the use of [g] is exclusively important.

With regard to the (Vki) variable, we notice that the non-local variant [ik] is used to a great extent by the old, who preserve this variant throughout the interview. We believe that it would be very much unexpected and unaccepted from the old to use the local variant [ki] because they would be highly criticised by their own group once they abandon their native variant in favour of the local variant [ki]. Indeed, the old who are known to be exposed to much more social pressure than young once they decide to change their way of speech.

The non-local variant [ik] is also seen to be frequently used by young female speakers. With regard to these speakers, we believe that they use the non-local variant as an attempt to identify themselves with the code ofprestige. However, they do not preserve non-local variants in general as these same speakers show an obvious tendency to avoid the non-local variant [k] (though it is the key feature through which preservation one can show more tendency to preserve the non-local dialect).

Some speakers in the middle age group also make some use of the non-local variant [ik]. These speakers do not use the non-local variant frequently, since they need to accommodate to the local variant as their social or job positions require. We believe that the availability of motives among some speakers in this age group is responsible for their use of the local variant [ki]. On the other hand, the social pressure that they might be exposed to by their fellow Fallahis, as they are relatively old, in addition to a personal desire to maintain their association with their group, is responsible for their use of their native variant [ik].

The local variant [ki] is seen to be used the most by the young of both sexes. The tendency of the young to want to appear as local or no less local than any of their age peers among the Karakis is the major motive behind this adaptation. Young

females once again appear to be the innovators, adopting forms that are associated with urbanisation and softness. While none of the young men uses the non-local variant [ik], prefering the local variant [ki], among young females we find some who use the non-local variant [ik] throughout the interview.

With regard to the young we find out that the variant [ki] is very frequent in their speech. Nevertheless, unlike the [k] variant which does not appear in their speech, the non-local variant [ik] also appears many times. This could be attributed to the fact that while the local variant carries a strong sense of locality, the [ik] variant does not necessarily carry an equal sense of non-locality; while the [ki] is peculiar to the Karaki dialect, the [ik] is not peculiar to the competing Fallahi group.

Thus, while we agree with Al-Wer (1999) that the aftermath of 1970 and the political and the social developments which followed created a new feeling of identity, which helped in reinforcing the position of some local variants as a new linguistic symbol of Jordanian identity, we believe that this did not engender an equal reaction on the part of the Fallahi group. This is reflected by the increasing acceptance of local variants by the Fallahis and their abandonment of their native variants. Analysis of individuals and their background does not reveal any attempt on the part of the parents to resist the local linguistic symbols and maintain the native ones. We do not agree that the victory of one variant over another is a real reflection of the victory of one group over another. This is because while some variants belonging to Fallahi rural people are being abandoned, other variants, which belong to the urban centres to which the Fallahis' villages are related, are being increasingly adopted. Linguistic behaviour does not simply reflect the political events of the 1970s. Put simply, these events were needed to create a real Jordanian identity that has its own linguistic symbols. We believe that the new political developments in Jordan and the

subsequent success of this country and its perception as an independent entity enhance the feeling of the population in general that this should be strengthened and reinforced through having a linguistic identity reflected by certain common variants used by all. This is what exists in the surrounding countries, such as Syria and Palestine, where certain variants symbolise identity.

With regard to the (K) variable, we have found that the young stereotypically use the [k] variant and abandon the [C] variant. Its social meaning as an old rural variant which stereotypically appears in the speech of old and illiterate people has led it to be widely stigmatised. This variant is also colorless in terms of identity as it is used by both the local and the non-local people. Its use can not convey any important meaning related to the local identity. Its use means using a stigmatised variant which is a cost without helping to convey locality, thus without any reward.

We also believe that the fact that the [C] variant is found to be criticised in other areas in Jordan (see Al Kahatib, 1988) also has its affect in perceiving it as a stigmatised variant by the local society. This would of course be a main reason for its wide and rapid avoidance by the Fallahis.

Young females also stereotypically abandon the [C] variant. This is not unexpected as young females also show a strong tendency to abandon other variants as they do not suit their tendency to appear as soft and urbanised even if these variants have very important social meanings which might reflect locality such as the [g] variant. Young females' first priorities are to adopt the variants which convey the social meanings of urbanisation or softness. Thus, from the very beginning the variant [C] is expected to be abandoned by young females.

The members of the old age group are the only people who use the [C] variant. The old are exposed to much pressure to preserve their native dialect. In addition, unlike with the variables (Q) and (ki), the old do not show frequent use of the [C] variant. This makes us believe that this sound change process started long ago and that at some stage during their life time, these speakers started abandoning it in favour of the standard/urban variant [k]. Its rate also is less than that of the [k] among the old.

In light of the fact that the [C] variant is completely absent in the speech of the young and used at a very low rate among the middle age group, we conclude that this variable is involved in a sound change in progress which is currently in the process of completion.

The differing opportunities available to each gender can be seen to set up the following pattern regarding the use of variants. In the absence of other means of experiencing self expression and respect, the female role typically takes on a heightened sensitivity towards the social value of linguistic variants. As such, those variants that are selected as carrying greater social respect are reinforced at the expense of those that are considered inferior. As this process is set in motion and an accepted standard of socially acceptable linguistic practice is established, the male role becomes one of adaptation to the female standard. This, of course, bears no relation to an idea of 'differing gender abilities', but to the means by which the different genders seek to express themselves. To put this in Labovian terms, the delay between the origination and establishment of a female-endorsed variant and its being taken up by men can be seen in terms of a gradual acceptance by men of an evaluative decision and its practice taken by the women, perhaps as much as a generation before. Underlying the gradual adoption of the female variant by men lies the tacit

acknowledgement that it is the women who set the standard for the most prestigious use of language.

6.2 The interaction between the variables

We notice that there is interaction between the use of the different variables. Use of the local variant of any of the investigated variables makes it possible to predict the linguistic behaviour of the speaker with regard to the remaining variants of the other variables. The speakers who were found to use the stigmatised non-local variable [k] were also found to use the non-local [ik] variant of the (Vki) variable and the stigmatised [C] variant of the (K) variable. The old who avoided using the local variant [g] of the (Q) variable were found to avoid using the local variant [ki] of the (Vki) variable. Similarly, speakers who were found to use the local variant [g] were also found to use the local variant [ki] of the variable (Vki) and to avoid the use of the stigmatised [C] variant of the variable (K). All of the young who used the local variant [g] also tended to use the local variant [ki]. They used both the local [g] variant and the local [ki] variant at high percentage rates, 89.1% and 79.8%, respectively. They also categorically avoided using the stigmatised [k] variant of the (Q) variable and the [C] variant of the (K) variable, 4% and 0%, respectively Similarly, the middle-age group members who were found to use both the local variant [g] as well as the non-local variant [k] were also found to use both the non-local variant [ik] and the local variant [ki]: for example, speakers 18 and 25. It is the social meaning of the variant which leads it to be chosen or not, not its phonetic features. While we notice how the variant [k] of the (Q) variable is abandoned by the young because of its social meaning as a non-local variant, the young do not behave

in a similar way linguistically with regard to the variant [k] of the (K) variable. Contrary to their behaviour with regard to the [k] variant of the (Q) variable, the young categorically adopted the [k] variant (100%) of the (K) variable and abandoned the [C] variant, because the latter (i) does not reflect locality, and (ii) is socially stigmatised by both Fallahis and Karakis.

Speakers 12 and 23, who are old and are found to be preservers of the non-local variant [k], are also found to be preservers of the non-local variant [ik] and the stigmatised variant [C]. Speakers 20, 21 and 22, who are young are adopters of the local [g] variant and are also found to be adopters of the local [ki] variant.

SPSS analysis confirms these findings. For example, age is found to be very significant in adopting the local [g] variant ($P<.05$ and it is <000 for age) and it is significant at the same rate in adopting the local [ki] variant ($P<.05$ while it is <000 for age). Figures 6.1 and 6.2 below also show that age is very important in adopting the local [g] variant and the local [ki] variant. They also show that the young behave in the same way with regard to these two local variants the peak of use of both of them being in the young age group.

Figure 6.1

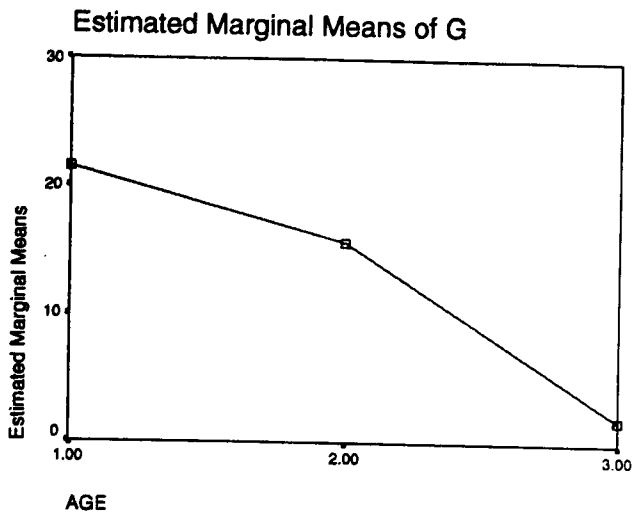
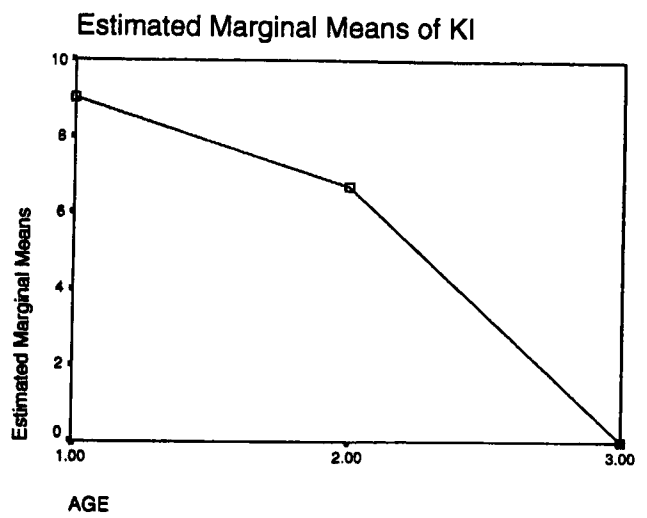


Figure 6.2



The educated group show similar patterns of usage with regard to the SA variants. They show a readiness to use the SA variant [q] and they use the SA variant [vki], 23% and 39%, respectively.

This confirms our argument that no variant is randomly chosen, but that the choice aims to achieve something at least at the social level. So, speakers behave similarly with regard to the different variables as even though the variables are different their aims are consistent.

It is also worth mentioning that sometimes one lexical item will contain two or more variables, and the linguistic behaviour of speakers with regard to these variables can be traced in a single word. For example, /kitaabuki/ 'your book' (Standard Arabic) can be pronounced dialectally as /ktaabCi/. In other words, once this word is pronounced in this way we can say that the speaker chose to use the local variant [ki] instead of [ik], as he said /ktaabCi/ rather than /ktaabiC/.We can also say that he used the stigmatised [C] variant instead of the prestigious variant [k], thus he said /ktaabCi/ rather than /ktaabki/. Similarly, /baka/ ' he cried', where the [k] is a variant of the /k/ variable, can be pronounced as [baCa] 'he cried'. At the same time, /baka/ 'he was', where the [k] is a variant of the (Q) variable, can also be pronounced as [baCa].

Old people, for example, might pronounce /qaryah/ 'village' as [Caryah] or [karyah] showing readiness to use a variant which is stigmatised either by virtue of being non-local as (in the case of [k]), or by virtue of being old-fashioned and having become stigmatised in most of the dialects found in the country, as in the case of the [C] variant.

Thus, the variants of the investigated variables interact and the choice of any one of them can help to predict the choice of the others. The variables of our study show that the variant itself is not important in the phonetic sense but rather in terms of the social meaning which it has. A form can be stigmatised when it is a variant of one particular variable whilst a phonetically identical form can be considered prestigious by the same speakers when it is a variant of another variable. When the [k] variant is a variant of the (Q) variable it is considered non-local and thus stigmatised, but when this variant is the variant of the (K) variable it is considered the urban or the SA variant and becomes prestigious.

6.3 Recommendations

Our study also has enhanced our awareness of the area linguistically and helped us notice the following:

1-Both Karakis and Fallahis of the younger generation tend to help their children adopt the urban dialect as a dialect of prestige – its use can be taken to reflect urbanity, progress, and perhaps also prosperity. This view is still an impressionistic one, and does not depend on any statistical data. Accordingly, it would need further investigation to demonstrate that it is true. We recommend that another study devoted to investigating members of the young generation of both origins as the best means to confirm or refute this view.

2- We also believe that some of the interviewees who are married to non-Fallahis tend to exhibit linguistic behaviour which can be distinguished from those who are married to Fallahis. For example we noticed that most of the females who appear as innovative and use the urban variant [?] have mothers who are originally Karaki rather than Fallahi. We believe that another study devoted solely to investigating the linguistic behaviour of people in Karak of mixed Karaki-Fallahi parentage would yield very insightful results.

3- It has also been noticeable in our study that the speech of the Fallahis is largely similar to that of the native population of Karak, among whom they live. Even within the Karak region, different areas have somewhat different dialects (Qasim and Khaliil 1996: 10). This suggests that other variants of other variables might also be affected in the speech of Fallahis - and perhaps on a very local basis - in addition to those which we have investigated in this thesis. We recommend that other studies be carried

out in the area to investigate what other variables might be candidates for sound change in the speech of Fallahis. By doing so, we believe that more detailed insights can be achieved into the process of sound change among Fallahis in this area.

4. Fallahi females appear to be innovators among their group with regard to the use of the urban [?] variant. Fallahi males do not show any tendency to use this urban variant, preferring to use the local [g] variant in order to present themselves as local. We believe that Karaki males might in fact be more prepared to use [?] and other urban variants than are Fallahi males - since this would be less likely to jeopardise their status as local people, which is already assured by their local ancestory. Karaki females might similarly be even more prepared to use urban variants than are Fallahi females. Given that Fallahi females who have Karaki mothers appear to be the only members of the Fallahi group who use features of the urban dialect in our study, we believe that females whose mother and father are both Karakis are likely to be even more prepared to abandon their native dialect. This speculation would require a separate study to investigate.

5. We believe that it would be useful to investigate how male and female Karakis of the different age groups react linguistically to the rapid growth which is taking place in the Karak region. This would enhance our awareness of the objective linguistic differences in the speech of Karakis and Fallahis. Some of our Fallahi informants have suggested that while Fallahis might adopt Karaki variants, Karakis do not adopt Fallahi variants. A study of Karaki informants on roughly the same scale as the present one would confirm or refute this view, particularly when considered in comparison with our study on the Fallahis.

6. In the Karak area, there are a relatively high number of Christian Karakis. These people are known to be well educated. Indeed they were the first group to attain a high level of education in Karak (Gubser, 1973). The first university in the Karak region was only established in 1981. Accordingly, Christian Karakis have travelled widely and come into contact with a large number of different dialect speakers in Jordan, as they have pursued their education elsewhere in the country. On these grounds we might expect Christian Karakis to be particularly frequent users of urban variants. However, since the Christian Karakis are a minority living among a dominant Muslim majority in Karak, they might conversely tend to preserve local variants, in order to affirm their status as full members of the local population. A further study could be conducted in order to ascertain the particular role of Christian Karakis in linguistic variation and change in the Karak area.

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